

AGE-GROUP RESPONSES TOWARD THE YOUNG-ADULT, MIDDLE-AGED,  
AND ELDERLY IN ATHENS, GREECE

By

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The purpose of this research was to elicit word-responses by interviewees of designated age, gender, and socioeconomic status toward individuals of particular age and gender. Specifically, this study identified the positive, neutral, and negative word-responses by Greek urban young, middle-aged, and elderly age-gender cohorts toward six distinct age-gender cohort labels. The six age-gender cohort labels were young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

The Preliminary Phase of this research established age spans for each age-gender cohort label by interviewing 125 male and female Greek Nationals from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods in Athens, Greece. The Experimental Phase of this research consisted of an interviewer requesting 108 Greek interviewees, whose ages and genders corresponded with the age-gender cohort labels established in the Preliminary Phase, to respond with words associated with each of the six age-gender cohort labels. The interviewees' word-responses were



rated as positive, neutral, or negative, yielding an overall rating of positive, neutral, or negative responses by age, gender, and socioeconomic status of interviewees toward each of the six age-gender cohort labels.

Tukey's Studentized (HSD) Range Test yielded the following conclusions. First, the young interviewees responded more negatively than either the middle-aged or elderly interviewees toward the "elderly male" age-gender cohort label. Second, female interviewees responded more positively than male interviewees toward both "young female" and "middle-aged female" age-gender cohort labels. However, male interviewees responded more positively than female interviewees toward the "middle-aged male" age-gender cohort label. Third, interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood responded more positively than interviewees from the lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "middle-aged male" age-gender cohort label. Also, the interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood responded more negatively than both interviewees from the middle and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods toward the "elderly female" age-gender cohort label. An analysis of variance for repeated measured concluded that all interviewees responded most positively toward the "middle-aged" label, neutrally toward the "young-adult" label, and least positively toward the "elderly" label.

Greece is a country which, steeped in a long and turbulent history, has dominated the thoughts and prescribed behaviors of all its inhabitants. Recent changes in politics, economy, and family structure may be a major factor in creating a clash between traditionally defined and newly evolving gender and age group roles. It is speculated that the conclusions yielded in this study reflect the current changes in Greek society.

## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Are responses toward an individual dependent on his/her age? Are responses toward an individual dependent on his/her gender? Does age, gender, or socioeconomic status influence an individual's responses toward others? These and related questions have been the focus of numerous studies on aging within the last 30 years. Although extensive research in the United States of America has addressed this area of study, it has been of limited concern in other countries.

Research on aging must first begin with a reliable method of categorizing age groups as young, middle-aged, or elderly. Theorists have suggested three approaches of classification: ranked descent, life period, and chronology. "Ranked descent" is most often associated with categorizing generations within a family. "Life period" includes social, psychological, and biological events which affect most individuals in a given society at a common chronological age. Identifying age groups according to chronological age is referred to as classification of age cohort. Birren and Schaie (1977, p. 45) define a cohort as "a group of individuals entering the environment at the same point in time." Therefore, an age cohort is a group of individuals born within a specific span of years. Researchers on aging agree that even with its limitations, "whatever our wish for an easily understood measure of

social age--we have no choice but to use chronological age" (Binstock & Shanias, 1976, p. 36).

Most attitude research in the United States of America on aging has employed the cohort approach to classify age groups. The bulk of this research has claimed that in general all age cohorts consider the elderly less favorably than their own, and that the elderly consider their own cohort the least favorably of all (Bennett & Eckman, 1973; Beverly, 1975; Perry & Slomp, 1980; Tuckman & Lorge, 1952a).

These studies have employed various tools to record and measure the positive, neutral, and negative responses by individuals toward age cohorts. The most common apparatus have been the Tuckman and Lorge Questionnaire (1952a,b), Kogan's Old People Scale (Kogan, 1961a, 1961b), Likert Scale (McTavish, 1971), Semantic Differential (Rosencranz & McNevin, 1969), Survey (Harris, 1975), and the Facts on Aging Quiz (Palmore, 1980). No researchers have consistently concluded that any one of these tools is the most valid or reliable. The only consistent claim has been that new tools need to be devised and implemented to measure positive, neutral, or negative responses by individuals toward age cohorts.

A number of studies in the United States of America on attitude and aging have considered gender and socioeconomic status as significant variables. In these studies, both gender of the subject and gender of the stimulus age cohort have been considered (Britton & Britton, 1970; Perrill, 1963; Troll & Schlossberg, 1970). Though the data from these studies yielded contradictory results, theorists maintain that gender is a variable to consider in aging research.

Similarly, researchers have also considered socioeconomic status as a variable influencing the responses of individuals toward other age cohorts (Hickey et al., 1968; Neugarten & Petersen, 1957; Youmans, 1971). Though the results of these studies were inconclusive, researchers such as Birren and Schaie (1977) assert that status should be included because it "accounts for considerable variation in the attitude and behavior of aging individuals" (p. 335).

Research conducted in the United States of America on responses toward age cohorts has shed light on a much needed area of study. Researchers and government officials internationally are also aware that research on aging needs to be implemented and developed on a global level. Results yielded from research on aging conducted in the United States of America are not necessarily applicable to other countries. Countries, outside the USA, aware of this, are suggesting that this area of research be developed in their countries as well.

Greece is one such country which is actively supporting research on aging. Until now, virtually no examination of young, middle-aged, and elderly responses toward the young, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts has been conducted in Athens, Greece. The Greek government has verbalized the imperative need for this research. "The aging in Greece as in many other countries represent a significant nonhomogenous part of the population with varying needs, the extent which can only be estimated with indepth research" (Greek National Committee for the World Assembly on Aging, 1982, p. 53).

Communication scholars are beginning to conduct research addressing the area of communication and aging. These researchers are examining

the messages which hinder or enhance effective communication between persons of different ages (Carmichael, 1976; Freimuth & Jamieson, 1979; Graney & Graney, 1974; Oyer & Oyer, 1976; Spence, 1977; Tamir, 1979). In research on communication and aging, verbal responses are reflective of the thoughts held by individuals interviewed toward specific genders and age cohorts. These verbal responses by individuals of specified genders, age cohorts, and socioeconomic status can be rated as positive, neutral, or negative. Hence, the positively, neutrally, and negatively rated responses represent the collective thoughts held toward specific ages and genders.

The individuals interviewed in this research are residents of Athens, Greece, and can be classified as young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female. These six groups are classified according to their place of residence as upper class, middle class, or lower class. These six groups responded to the following gender and age cohort labels: young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female. The purpose, then, of this study is to investigate the significant differences, in Athens, Greece, between the positive, neutral, and negative responses of young males, young females, middle-aged males, middle-aged females, elderly males, and elderly females from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods toward young males, young females, middle-aged males, middle-aged females, elderly males, and elderly females.

### Definitions of Key Terminology

The following definitions are presented to aid in understanding concepts in this chapter which may be unfamiliar to the reader. The term "age cohort" is understood as "a group of individuals exposed to a similar set of life experiences and historical events. Thus, demographers often use cohort analysis to compare groups of people born during specific time periods, usually separated by five- or ten-year intervals" (Barrow & Smith, 1983, p. 64). The term "age-gender cohort label" identifies the ages and genders of the cohort toward which the interviewees elicit word-responses. The six age-gender cohort labels in this research are young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female. The "interviewees" in the research are those persons participating in the word association test. The "interviewee age-gender groups" are those interviewees participating in the word association test. They are grouped as young males, young females, middle-aged males, middle-aged females, elderly males, and elderly females. The term "age group" is the generic usage for young adult, middle-aged, and elderly. The "word-responses" are interviewees' responses toward the age-gender cohort labels on the word association test. The "socioeconomic neighborhoods" are those neighborhoods suggested by Dr. P. Dimitras (Director of Evrodim-Greek Polling System) where persons of the same socioeconomic status reside. The socioeconomic neighborhoods in this research are the upper socioeconomic neighborhood, middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and lower socioeconomic neighborhood. A "stimulus" is the individual or cohort term which elicits a word-response by the interviewees.

### Review of Relevant Literature

This study examines young, middle-aged, and elderly responses toward age-gender cohort labels in Athens, Greece. Though research examining responses toward age cohorts has been fairly extensive in the United States of America, it has received little attention outside the United States of America. With this in mind, the purpose of this chapter is to review previous research and related literature on responses toward age-gender cohorts in the United States of America as well as in other countries.

### Defining Age Cohorts as Young, Middle-Aged, and Elderly

The experimental phase of this research required interviewees who qualified as either members of young adult cohorts, middle-aged cohorts, or elderly cohorts. Classifying persons according to "age" is a global phenomenon. However, the modes of this identification vary from culture to culture. According to Fry (1980, p. 42), "all cohorts incorporate age into the possible ways individuals are differentiated." Research has been controversial regarding what is the most accurate determinant of cohort membership. Across cultures, the three most often used approaches to defining young, middle-aged, and elderly are "ranked descent," "life-period," and "chronology."

"Ranked descent," independent of age-grading and chronology, is most often associated with classifying generations. It is aligned with rankings within a family. An example of these rankings would be grandfather, father, and son. Ranked descent is preferred in studies of the

family, but not in research dividing subjects according to "elderly," "middle-aged," and "young." The reason ranked descent is not used in classifying "elderly," "middle-aged," and "young" is because it can provide identity and role within the family, but has little generalizability to non-family relationships (Troll, 1970, p. 200). Ranked descent is therefore employed when examining generations within a family. "Generation as ranked descent continues to be a central variable in studies of the family: family organization, family relationships, family processes, transmission of family culture, etc." (Troll, p. 201).

The second approach in classifying individuals as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly" would be considered the "life-period approach." This would include social, psychological, and biological events which occur to most individuals in a given society at a common chronological age. Therefore, "young adult," "middle-aged," and "elderly" would not be defined by a span of time but rather by events which occur in their lives. The "life-period approach" has been defined in various manners by several theorists. Troll refers to this approach as "developmental stage." Crandall (1980) labels this as "rites of passage." Neugarten and Danan (1973) label this "age-grading." Finally, Birren and Schaie (1977) similarly refer to this as "social age."

Troll identified the "life-period approach" as "developmental stage." According to Troll, individuals must experience specific events which then prepare and graduate the individual to the next stage in life.



Just as age group applies to social status (adult or non-adult, etc.), to social transitions, and to groups, so developmental stage applies to individual (adolescent, adult, middle age, etc.), to life cycle transitions and to individuals. (1970, pp. 202-203)

Crandall (1980) views the "life-period approach" as "rites of passage." "Rites of passage" are rituals which signify changes in an individual's roles and status as he/she ages. It constitutes a social clock for behaviors which would correlate with young adult, middle-aged, or elderly. In other words, an individual would exhibit specific behaviors which were appropriate for a young adult of a certain gender before graduating to appropriate behaviors for a middle-aged person of that gender. The graduation passage from one life period to the next (e.g., young adult to middle-aged) might also depend on biological factors. In many preliterate societies the onset of menstruation graduates a female from child to the status of adult (p. 106).

In almost all societies there are internalized timetables listing when events should occur. . . . Individuals internalize social clocks that indicate certain roles, behaviors, rights, and responsibilities are appropriate. (p. 106)

The "life-event approach" is referred to by Neugarten and Datan (1973) as "age-grading." They also classify life-events according to the time they most often occur for a specific age and gender. For example, the following life events could be correlated to young adult, middle-aged, and elderly: leaving school, marriage, birth of first child, birth of last child, marriage of last child, widowhood, and death. Those events correlated with the age they most often occur would be the foundation for establishing labels of "young adult," "middle-aged," "elderly." According to Neugarten and Datan's 1973

research and Leslie's 1976 research (as cited in Crandall, 1980, p. 102), "young woman" could be the label of women ages 19 through 28 because marriage, birth of first child, and birth of last child are the life events which occur with the most frequency among women within that age frame. "Middle-aged" could be the label of women ages 47 through 64 because marriage of the last child and years before widowhood are the life events which occur most frequently among women within that age frame. "Elderly" could be the label of women beginning at age 65 because this is when they most often begin experiencing widowhood.

"Life-event approach" is referred to by Birren and Schaie (1977) as "social age." "Social age" for these theorists include social, biological, and chronological life-events in individuals' lives which would be associated with "young," "middle-aged," and "elderly."

The progression through family roles from being single to marriage to widowhood, from parenthood to the empty nest to grandparenthood, provides markers for the definition of the individual as young, middle-aged, or old. Similarly the statuses of student, worker, seniority in a work occupation, and retirement, are interpreted as indicators of advancing age, as are declining health and perceived longevity. (p. 330)

Though researchers recognize the merit of the life-event approach to dividing young, middle-aged, and elderly, there are numerous factors which affect reliability when using these approaches in research on aging. Crandall (1980) highlights these weaknesses in using this approach. The subjects' ethnic, educational, socioeconomic, religious, etc. differences may each have dramatic influences affecting when a specific social event may occur during an individual's life, and therefore may not be generalizable within even the same culture. Crandall stated,

The life-period approach is different from society to society. Moreover, within the same society different age cohorts may be exposed to a number of different life periods or the same life period at different chronological ages. (p. 107)

Furthermore, even within one culture there are contradictions between ascribed status versus social status which influence the transition from life periods.

In other words, while the individual in a simple society has a life course which is to a great extent laid out for him, the individual in the [U.S.A.] society, within socially set limits, creates his own life course. (Binstock & Shanas, 1976, p. 40)

Crandall (1980) summarized the limitations to employing the life period approach when classifying young, middle-aged, and elderly.

Not only [are] the ["developmental stage," "rites of passage," "age-grading," and "social age"] approach[es] limited by time, culture, and generation but also by such variables as social class, race, gender, education and a host of others. For example, individuals from the lower class generally enter their occupational and family life periods earlier than do individuals from upper classes. (p. 107)

The third approach to identifying an individual as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly" would be to define these labels according to chronological age spans. An individual would then qualify as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly" merely by his/her chronological age. Others then who are chronologically within the same age span would also be labeled as either "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly." This method of classifying age is termed "cohort" and is defined by Birren and Schaie as "a group of individuals entering the environment at the same point in time" (1977, p. 44). This cohort then ages during the same time period and experiences biological changes at

similar times as well as being exposed to the effects of historical and life events in a similar manner.

Crandall explained the advantages of using birth cohorts (age sets in social anthropological terms) in aging research.

The [researchers] believe that by being born in a certain time period and that by being exposed to certain events at a given age, the specified birth cohort is unique when compared with other birth cohorts. In other words, a cohort's age during a certain historical period is believed to make that cohort unlike others that did not experience the same event or that experienced it at a different age. Thus, different cohorts may live through the same historical event, but because they experienced the event at various ages they will be affected by it differently. It is believed that this variability will produce long-term effects that differ for individual birth cohorts. (p. 103)

This, then, would possibly result in individuals within a cohort responding to events and even responding similarly to other cohorts. This similarity of cohort response is termed "cohort-centrism" (Riley, 1971).

Though researchers agree that chronologic age is not necessarily the most accurate criterion in all instances for labeling individuals as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly," it is the most widely used and accepted in aging research. In the final analysis, Birren and Schaie (1977) asserted that after evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of labeling individuals as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly" according to descent-ranking, age-grading, or birth cohorts, that the chronological age used in birth cohorts is the most feasible to use in aging research.

Despite . . . shortcomings, chronological age is an indispensable index in our society, and from a historical perspective, perhaps an increasingly important one. Cain (1974) has called attention to the paradox that at the same time in history that researchers are pointing to the inadequacy of chronological age as an index of social functioning, it is nevertheless becoming the determinant for

assignment to one or another social age group . . . whatever its limitations--whatever our wish for an easily understood measure of social age--we have no choice but to use chronological age. . . . (p. 36)

In the early 1950s, Tuckman and Lorge (1952a, 1952b, 1953a) directed their research toward identifying the spans for age cohorts. Their 1953 studies concluded that chronological age was not a reasonable criterion for labeling age cohorts. "It is evident from this study that the use of chronological age as a criterion of aging must be abandoned and more adequate objective criterion developed . . ." (1953a, p. 491). However, a follow-up Tuckman and Lorge (1954) study was able to delimit more objectively age spans of young, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts. The results were that a significant number of subjects between the ages of 20 and 29 years old classified themselves as young. A significant number of subjects between the ages of 40 and 59 years old classified themselves as middle-aged. Also, a significant number of subjects over the age of 70 classified themselves as old.

Paul Cameron in 1969 published the landmark methodology used to establish the age parameters of young adult, middle-aged, old, and aged. Subjects interviewed merely responded with their own opinions for what ages they included in most peoples' use of the labels "young adult," "middle-aged," "old," and "aged." The interview was conducted as follows:

What ages do you think of when you hear or use the words young adult? That is, what is the youngest a person can be and still be a "young adult" \_\_\_\_\_, the oldest he can be? \_\_\_\_\_. (b) How about "middle age" \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_. (c) "Old" begins at age \_\_\_\_\_. (d) "Aged" begins at age \_\_\_\_\_. (p. 201)

Using this method Cameron established the following age parameters:

"Young adult" begins at age 18 and ends at age 25. The onset of "middle-age" is 40 years old and continues until 55 years old. "Old age" begins at 65 years old and continues until "aged" begins, which is 80 years old. (p. 202)

In summarizing the various approaches to defining individuals as "young adult," "middle-aged," or "elderly" there emerges an underlying theme. This theme is that within a culture there exists some thread of commonality between individuals which allows them to be classified as young, middle-aged, or elderly. This thread is, for some, either ranked descent in the family, biologically based, or related to social events. However, for all, these are under the umbrella of chronological age. Of all approaches the birth cohort (age set) is most directly linked to chronological age. Thus, since chronological age is thought to be the most feasible approach to categorizing "young adult," "middle-aged," and "elderly," so then is the use of birth cohorts (age sets).

#### U.S.A. Research on Responses Toward the Aged

Defining persons as young adult, middle-aged, and elderly according to their chronological ages is a necessary phase when conducting research on responses toward these cohorts. Extensive research has been conducted specifically toward the elderly in the United States of America. A body of this research is directed toward interviewee age groups (young adult, middle-aged, and elderly) responses toward the elderly in the United States of America.

The bulk of the research in the United States of America accessing interviewee age group responses toward the elderly cohort has occurred

within the last 30 years. The research examined identified positive, neutral, or negative responses toward the elderly as a cohort. The findings, which were fairly consistent, indicated that all subjects respond fairly negatively toward the elderly cohort. The trend is that all age cohorts consider old age less favorably than they consider their own, and the elderly consider their own age least favorably of all. Perry and Slemp (1980) summed up the attitudinal cohort research when they stated:

Tuckman and Lorge (1952), Bennett and Eckman (1973) and Beverly (1975) have suggested a negative stereotype, portraying old age as an unhappy time which has been accepted by the young and old alike. (p. 275)

Empirical research on responses by subjects toward the elderly began in the early 1950s. An overview of the history of this research will aid in the further understanding of the conclusions cited above. The first research of this kind (1952a, 1952b) began with Tuckman and Lorge. Since Tuckman and Lorge's initial work, researchers have conducted studies either modifying Tuckman and Lorge's original questionnaire of attitudes toward the elderly or designing another tool to record and measure responses toward the elderly. Following is a review of the primary research findings and methods employed to measure responses toward age cohorts.

Tuckman and Lorge (1952a, 1952b, 1953a, 1953b, 1954) paved the way for studies (on attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, stereotypes, etc.) on aging. Their research tool was a 137 statement attitude questionnaire separated with 13 content categories, each of which was responded to by the subject with a "yes" or "no." Items on the original attitude

questionnaire have since been criticized by researchers because some of the items elicited attitude responses, while other items elicited belief responses. Thus, the reliability of the tool was in question because it did not measure consistent responses from the research subjects. However, the findings purported by Tuckman and Lorge have since been supported in most aging research. They asserted that positive, neutral, and negative responses by the subjects toward the elderly are significantly lower than positive, neutral, or negative responses toward both the young adult and the middle-aged. Furthermore, the responses by the elderly toward the elderly cohort are the most negative of all.

Following Tuckman and Lorge's questionnaire research, a study which is not mentioned extensively in aging studies was conducted by Golde and Kogan (1959). They designed a sentence completion test which measured attitudes toward the elderly as opposed to attitudes toward the general population.

An instrument was devised to test the hypothesis that beliefs and attitudes regarding old people are qualitatively different than those concerning the large class of people in general. (p. 360)

They hypothesized that attitudes held toward the elderly were significantly different than attitudes held toward the population in general. Their research supported the hypothesis. Unfortunately, the subjects' responses were not measured and analyzed as to their positive or negative differences. Kogan has continued to be active in aging research and has developed other widely used tools (The Old People Scale) to measure attitude toward the elderly. However, he has



apparently abandoned the use of this form of sentence completion test. Likewise, few other researchers have employed the sentence completion test, and hence any potential this tool has for attitude research toward the aged has not been tapped.

The test most closely related to the sentence completion test in aging and attitude research was employed by Kahana and Coe (1969). They requested staff and residents of nursing homes to complete the following sentence stems: "Who am I . . ." and "Who is this resident. . . ?" The completed sentences were then rated on a 1 through 5 evaluation scale. Cabot (1961) was a second researcher who evaluated subjects' completions of sentence stems to establish positive or negative attitudes toward the aged. The stem he used was "When I am with an older person, I. . . ."

Kogan followed his 1959 sentence completion research with another approach to recording subjects' responses toward the elderly. This approach, he considered, was an answer to Tuckman and Lorge's unreliable questionnaire. Kogan designed a scale (1961b) which he labeled "Attitudes Toward Old People" (referred to in subsequent research as the OP scale). Kogan claimed,

Though the OP scale has had widespread application, it is disconcerting to note that the Tuckman-Lorge collection continues to be used as a general attitude measure to the present day. This is not to imply that the OP scale is without faults. Nevertheless, if the measure of attitudes is at issue, the OP scale represents a major methodological advance relative to the Tuckman-Lorge item collection. (1979b, p. 15)

Kogan's research (1961a, 1961b, 1979a) employing the OP scale concluded that the young subjects were either consistently favorable or consistently unfavorable in their responses toward the elderly, whereas

the elderly subjects were not consistently favorable or unfavorable in their responses toward the elderly. Their responses varied between positive and negative extremes. It can be inferred from these results that the elderly have positive and negative feelings toward the cohort to which they belong.

Several theorists throughout the 1960s modified and/or revised Tuckman and Lorge's original questionnaire, and individually conducted research on attitudes toward the aged (Axelrod & Eisdorfer, 1961; Bekker & Taylor, 1966; Eisdorfer, 1966; Lane, 1964; Rosencranz & McNevin, 1969). An example of the modified Tuckman-Lorge questionnaire is illustrated in Axelrod and Eisdorfer's 1961 research. The 137 item questionnaire (Tuckman and Lorge) was pared down to 96 items, and these 96 items were associated with five different age groups (35, 45, 55, 65, and 75 year olds) rather than just the elderly. The results from this study suggested that stereotypes held by an individual, whether they are positive, neutral, or negative, increase in number as the stimulus person ages.

Other theorists employed Kogan's OP scale, or a modified version of it (House & Gartz, 1970; Kogan & Shelton, 1962; Silverman, 1966). Silverman (1966) not only examined attitudes toward the elderly cohort, but by employing the OP scale he was able to establish subjects' behavioral intentions. In other words, he was able to establish subjects' attitudes toward the aged as well as their feeling toward actual interactions with elderly persons. His results indicated that because of the correlation between Kogan's "Attitudes Toward Old People Scale" and a measure of social desirability that "the scale was capable of predicting preference for associating with the aged in an actual behavioral situation" (p. 88).

A 40 item Likert scale was developed by McTavish (1971). The Likert scale was to identify positive, neutral, or negative attitudes toward the elderly. The 40 items were a result of open-ended questions given to college students. Each question began, "Old people are. . . ." Item analyses for these sentence completions provided the basis for the Likert scale. Subjects responded to each item on the Likert scale as positive, neutral, or negative.

During the 1960s and the onset of the 1970s the semantic differential tool was employed in aging and attitude research. Not surprisingly, the semantic differential yielded similar results to that of the Likert scale, OP scale, Attitude questionnaire, and sentence completion test. Rosencranz and McNevin (1969) designed a 32-item semantic differential scale. The 32 scales were comprised of polar opposite adjectives such as "good/bad" and the stimulus words rated were 20-30 years old, 40-55 years old, and 70-85 years old. Three factors were indicated by the results: Instrumental-Ineffective, Autonomous-Dependent, and Personal Acceptability-Unacceptability.

A recent study by Bassili and Reil (1981) employed a similar semantic differential design. They employed 61 7-point bipolar adjective scales. They were seeking to identify stereotypes of groups defined by age, gender, or occupation as more consistent among the elderly cohorts than younger cohorts. Their results indicated that not only were there twice as many stereotypes associated with the elderly cohort than the young cohort, but that three-fourths of the stereotypes associated with the aged were negative. The most

frequently occurring stereotypes were traditional, dogmatic, cautious, and rigid.

In 1975 the National Council on Aging (NCOA) conducted and published a representative survey of all persons over 18 (Harris, 1975). They asked subjects questions about their attitudes toward the elderly. The questions asked were open-ended, such as, "What are the advantages and disadvantages of being 65?" or "How do older people of today compare with older people in the past in terms of financial status, education, health and longevity?" The results were consistent with most of the other results cited since Tuckman and Lorge: The young responded more negatively toward the elderly than toward their own cohort. Furthermore, the elderly responded more negatively toward their own cohort than they did toward younger cohorts.

Palmore's Facts on Aging Quiz has been used by a number of theorists within the last ten years. Palmore's quiz consists of 25 true-false items and takes five minutes or less to complete. The 25 items presented are factual statements about the elderly with references to empirical studies. "It was designed to cover the basic physical, mental, and social facts and the most common misconceptions about aging" (Palmore, 1982, p. 340). Palmore's results (1980, 1981) suggest the following four conclusions addressing knowledge about the elderly cohort. The first conclusion was that there is rampant ignorance about what is considered facts about the elderly. The second was that both genders are misinformed and stereotype the elderly. The third was that the misconceptions which are most often accepted toward the elderly are negative rather than positive. The fourth was that the Palmore quiz

scores showed marked improvement for students who were enrolled in gerontology courses. The first quiz (Palmore, 1980) yielded the four conclusions cited above. An alternate quiz (Palmore, 1981) was published a year later, expecting similar results. "These two quizzes remain the only published documented measures of knowledge about aging" (Palmore, 1982, p. 340).

Recently, researchers on aging have been conducting studies that cite a specific person as the stimulus rather than a general age category (Baffa & Zarit, 1977; Bell & Stanfield, 1973a, 1973b; Crockett et al., 1979; Lawrence, 1974; Sherman et al., 1978; Weinberger & Millham, 1975). For example, Weinberger and Millham (1975) administered an attitude measure to assess the young-adults' attitudes toward a "representative" 25-year-old and a "representative" 70-year-old. It should be noted that the technique of recording responses to a specific age cohort often yielded contradictory results than were found when employing traditional tools to measure attitude, perception, etc. (i.e., Tuckman-Lorge questionnaire, Kogan's OP scale, McTavish's Likert scale, and the Semantic Differential). The typical pattern of subjects responding negatively toward the elderly was not a consistent finding when employing the specific person stimulus approach. The studies conducted by Baffa and Zarit (1977), Bell and Stanfield (1973a, 1973b), Connor et al. (1978), Lawrence (1974), and Thomas and Yamamoto (1975) each employed a comparative approach between the elderly and the young. The elderly cohort was represented by an individual elderly stimulus, and likewise the young cohort was represented by an individual young stimulus. For each of the above studies, the individual elderly stimulus was responded to as

positively as the individual young stimulus. Studies conducted by Crockett et al. (1979), Sherman et al. (1978), and Weinberger and Millham (1975) employed a similar approach of comparing responses to an individual elderly stimulus and an individual young stimulus. These results differed from the above mentioned theorists in that the individual elderly stimulus was responded to more positively than the individual young stimulus. Connor et al. (1978) and Weinberger and Millham (1975) compared subjects' responses to an individual elderly stimulus with the elderly cohort in general. Interestingly, their results indicated that there was no correlation between the subjects' responses to the specific or general stimuli. This would suggest that responses toward the elderly cohort are not necessarily the same response a person would have to an individual in that age cohort.

Evidence is accumulating that suggests that portrayals of individual old people result in especially positive ratings of them because such characterizations distinguish them from general stereotypes of the elderly. (Green, 1981, p. 106)

There is an underlying theme, dating back to Tuckman and Lorge, through the attitude research on aging. This theme is that the elderly cohort in the United States of America is responded to significantly less favorably than are other age cohorts (i.e., young adults and middle-aged). Furthermore, the elderly respond to their own cohort significantly more negatively than to younger cohorts.

Many theorists have asserted that it is unrealistic to assume that age alone is the determining factor of the response toward an individual stimulus or a cohort stimulus. These theorists maintain that both the gender of the stimulus being responded to and the gender of the

subject act as variables. Gender is a variable to consider when examining subject responses toward age cohorts.

### Gender as a Variable in Aging Research

When considering gender as a variable in aging research, both the gender of the subject and the gender of the stimulus must be taken into account. The following review cites the most influential aging research and the effects gender has had on the results of the studies.

There have been several studies on aging and responses toward cohorts which have considered the gender of the subject as an unavoidable variable affecting the outcome of the responses. The results of these studies have, however, been rather inconclusive. There have emerged three contradictory conclusions. The first set of researchers claim that women responded slightly more negatively toward the aged than men. Also, women were found to maintain more negative stereotypes toward the elderly than did male subjects (Kogan & Shelton, 1962; Merrill & Gunter, 1969; Perril, 1963; Tuckman & Lorge, 1954; Weinberger & Millham, 1975). In general, "women tended to be more extreme than men in their opinions and judgments of the elderly, rating the elderly as a group more negatively in personality than male subjects" (Weinberger & Millham, 1975, p. 348).

The second conclusion researchers have claimed when examining the gender of the subjects in relation to their responses to age cohorts is that females are less negative in their responses toward the elderly cohort than are males (Skoglund, 1979-1980; Troll & Schlossberg, 1970).

Skoglund (p. 56) asserted that "young, well-educated females were in relative terms, more positively inclined and tended also to perceive the elderly as suffering from a lower degree of welfare." Troll and Schlossberg examined occupation and gender of the subject. They asserted, "College connected groups (counselors and students) are somewhat less 'age biased' than noncollege groups. Women tend to be less 'age biased' than men" (p. 46).

The third conclusion researchers have claimed when examining the gender of subjects in relation to their responses toward age cohorts is that there is no substantive correlation between the gender of the subjects and the positive, neutral, or negative weights of the responses (Britton & Britton, 1970; Kogan, 1961b; Rosencranz & McNevin, 1969; Traxler, 1971; Tuckman & Lorge, 1953a, 1953b).

On the other hand, researchers within the last ten years have been considering the gender of the stimulus individual or cohort as a variable possibly influencing subjects' responses. The most recent studies which have included the gender of the stimulus individual or stimulus cohort have been conducted by Broverman et al. (1972), Kogan (1979b), O'Connell and Rotter (1979), Pheterson et al. (1972), and Walsh and Connor (1979).

Some of the researchers claimed that gender was an influencing variable. Both Pheterson et al. and Broverman et al. concluded that when the possibility of age bias was removed and the possibility of gender bias was heightened in the aging experiment the results verified gender expectations and gender role stereotyping.

Kogan (1979b) questioned whether the advancing social age of a stimulus cohort is associated only with chronological age, or also



with gender (e.g., passing from young adult to middle-aged). His results purported that there is a significant difference between a stimulus age and a stimulus gender and its categorization by subjects into a specific age group. Kogan asserted that the female stimulus was believed to reach adulthood and middle-aged sooner than the male stimulus.

Studies by O'Connell and Rotter (1979) and Walsh and Connor (1979) claimed that subjects' responses were influenced by the specific age and gender of the stimuli. They concluded that male stimuli ages 25 and 50 were generally evaluated more favorably than female stimuli ages 25 and 50. However, the trend was reversed as age of the stimuli increased; the female stimuli were evaluated more favorably at age 75 than were the male stimuli.

Males were perceived as more effective and autonomous than females until age 75. . . . The aging process was perceived as similar for males and females between 25 and 50 years of age but more detrimental to males than females between 50 and 75 years of age. (O'Connell & Rotter, 1979, p. 227)

The above studies lend credence to the stance that when conducting communication and aging research the gender of the subject and the stimulus should be accounted for and considered as a possible variable. A second variable which needs to be mentioned is that of socioeconomic status and its influence on subjects' responses in aging research.

#### Socioeconomic Status as a Variable

Several researchers have accepted the contention that the socioeconomic status (SES) of a subject is a variable affecting subjects' responses toward a stimulus. Each of the following aging studies which

included the SES of subjects as a possible variable influencing responses toward a stimulus cohort concluded that there is a significant relationship between SES and subjects' responses. The relationship that consistently emerged was that the lower class subjects were more likely to stereotype the aged than were subjects from middle and upper socioeconomic classes (Hickey et al., 1968; Neugarten & Peterson, 1957; Rosencranz & McNevin, 1969; Thorson, 1975). On the contrary, there have been some researchers who claim that no relationship exists between subjects' responses and socioeconomic status of subjects (Youmans, 1971).

Overall, support claiming that lower SES subjects' responses toward cohort stimuli are significantly less favorable than middle and upper SES subjects' responses toward cohort stimuli outweighs contradicting research. With this in mind, research on aging needs to consider the variable of subjects' socioeconomic status.

Birren and Schaie (1977) having evaluated the advantages and disadvantages of including the subjects' socioeconomic status as a variable in aging research concluded that the inclusion can only shed more light on the accuracy of the data results. They stated that socioeconomic neighborhoods must be considered in any cultural and gerontological research because "socioeconomic status (however it is measured) accounts for considerable variation in the attitudes and behavior of aging individuals" (p. 335).

### Need for Communication and Aging Research

The need for examination of the elderly cohort in the field of communication is imperative. Research previously cited regarding responses by and toward the elderly cohort in the United States of America investigates a concern that communication scholars must begin addressing. Carmichael (1976), aware of this need, illuminated the interface between gerontological research and communication studies. "Social gerontology is dedicated to the study of social-psychological problems of the aged. Significantly, communication has not been included as one of its traditional subdisciplines" (p. 121). Furthermore, Webb (1981) considers the field of speech communication ripe for research of the messages employed. She summarized the role of communication scholars in this arena of study. "What is it that communication and aging scholars study? Simply stated, they study messages to, from, or about elders. That is, communication and aging research examines messages involving persons" (p. 1).

The research on responses toward the elderly cohort is valid and reliable; however, it is culture bound. Most research on attitudes and aging has been conducted within the United States of America. Therefore, the subjects of these studies have all been the products of the United States of America culture. What of attitudes toward the aged in cultures outside the United States of America? World organizations are now becoming aware that there are needs within cultures globally to conduct research on aging. The research conducted in the United States of America would not necessarily be applicable to cultures globally. Thus,

research addressing responses toward the elderly must be conducted in the target cultures. The following section examines this newly realized need for research on aging to be conducted outside the United States of America.

#### Need for Aging Research Internationally

There is a heightened interest in the aging cohorts in the United States of America. This interest may be attributed to the fact that the aging population is living longer and increasing in number more than ever before.

[T]he average life expectancy has increased from a little over 30 years during the Upper Paleolithic Period (30,000 years ago) to over 70 years in America today (70.2 years for white males and 77.8 years for white females). . . . In 1900 only about 4.5 percent of the United States population were over 65, yet in 1981 about 11 percent were. The population segment statistically defined as elderly (over 65 years) numbered about 25 million in 1981 and is expected to increase to 32 million by the end of the century and to 45 million by the year 2020. (Congressional Report on Aging--U.S. Senate, 1981)

The elderly then are an age cohort which has never before known such numbers.

The rapid increase in the numbers of the elderly in the United States of America and the increased life span is concurrent with a global increase in the elderly population. Demographers predict a marked increase internationally in the 65 years old and older population by the year 2000. "Projections to the year 2000 indicate that while older persons in developed countries will increase by 30 percent, the increase in developing countries will be approximately 77.4 percent"

(Salas, 1982, unpagged foreword). The heightened awareness of this dramatic increase in the elderly cohort internationally has awakened needs for research on the elderly which had never been considered to any degree.

Research conducted in the United States of America concerning responses by individuals toward age cohorts is not necessarily applicable to other countries. This type of thinking is supported by gerontologists such as Binstock and Salas when they state, "It is equally important to recognize that the social and economic implications of the aging process in developing countries may differ from those experienced by developed countries" (Salas, 1982, unpagged foreword). With this logic in mind, world leaders have begun to stress that the situation of the elderly in various cultures needs to be examined and that this examination is unique to each culture. It was this type of reasoning which led to the 1981 World Assembly on Aging in Vienna, Austria, which convened for the purpose of sharing ideas and broadening understanding between nations of the plight of the elderly cohort across nations and cultures. The stated purpose of the assembly was

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in resolution 33/53 of 14 December 1978, has decided to convene in consultation with member states, specialized agencies, and concerned organizations, a World Assembly on Aging in July, 1982, as a forum to launch an international action program aimed at guaranteeing economic and social security to older persons as well as opportunities to contribute to national development. Governments, international and nongovernmental organizations have been invited to participate in the preparatory work for the World Assembly on Aging and in the Assembly itself. (DiFilippo & Tiso, 1982, p. vii)

The United Nations was recognizing the fact that developed and developing nations need to individually consider the situation of the elderly cohort in their own countries.

The goal of the World Assembly on Aging was not only to examine economic and social security for the elderly cohort internationally, but also to encourage research within cultures on the status of the elderly in that specific environment. The U.S. National Report on Aging for the United Nations World Assembly on Aging, June, 1982, put forth this goal:

An important reason for conducting aging research lies in the possibility of modifying both the aging process and society's attitudes about aging in a favorable way. (p. 111)

Negative societal attitudes toward the elderly individual held by the culture in which they were immersed became an issue. Finally, the United Nations Assembly suggested that individual research must be undertaken within each culture to begin identifying and obviating negative responses toward the aged. The resolution stated:

Although the process of aging is universal and as old as life itself, it was not until the middle of the 20th century that studies in aging began to be vigorously undertaken. Scientists are now studying aging with an intensity greater than ever, utilizing a diversity of scientific findings, methodologies and theoretical perspectives. It is only by conducting research [internationally] that we will derive new knowledge to advance our understanding of the underlying causes of the aging process and help us distinguish disease from aging. (U.S. National Report on Aging for the United Nations World Assembly on Aging, 1982, p. 111)

A review of the limited number of studies conducted outside the United States of America which have examined responses toward the elderly within societies and between cultures further illuminates the need for more such research internationally.

Simmons (1945) initiated the beginning of intercultural research of responses toward the aged. Such studies have been continued by Bengston et al. (1975) on six countries, Cowgill and Holmes (1972) on

14 societies, Guemple (1983) examining attitudes toward the aged in an Eskimo society, Holmes and Rhoads (1983) on aging and changing attitudes in Samoa, Nahemou (1983) on the Baganda, Maxwell and Silverman (1971) comparing 26 societies, Palmore (1980) comparing 28 countries, and Schweitzer (1983) comparing two American Indian communities.

There is one conclusion that each of these researchers claim. They claim that the society in which they examined responses toward the aged had unique customs, traditions, and social mores. Therefore, since each society is unique, it cannot be assumed that results from aging research in different societies is applicable cross-culturally.

[Researchers] examine how the interplay of technology, social roles, and symbolic meaning determines the context in which people perceive and react to old age. Here a given socio-cultural system establishes the collective representations and values (arbitrary conceptions of what is desirable in human experiences) that shape and in turn are molded by distinct patterns of economic and leadership roles, kinship and neutral relationships, social and political group formation, and ritual behavior. . . . The ecology is the broadest environment in which social units (societies), bound by shared expectations, construct a version of reality about aging that interweaves notions of time, life cycle, intergenerational relations, dependency, and death. (Sokolovsky, 1983, p. 3)

These intercultural studies have evolved two lines of reasoning. The first, as espoused by Cowgill and Holmes (1972), is that positive responses toward the elderly have decreased with increased modernization in a society. The second, contradicting Cowgill and Holmes, is that there is no definite relationship between increased modernization in a society and attitudinal responses toward the elderly. For example, a 1975 study by Bengston recorded and compared young male cohort responses toward the elderly in Argentina, Chile, India, Pakistan, Israel, and Nigeria. The reasoning indicated only

weak and inconsistent evidence that the most modernized countries had the most negative attitudes toward aging. However, there was also some evidence that within some developing countries, increasing individual modernity was associated with more positive perceptions of aging. (Sokolovsky, 1983, p. 117)

It seems from the studies cited and the conclusions drawn between degree of modernization and attitudes toward the elderly that the elderly represent a heterogeneous group within their own cultures. This heterogeneity is furthered by varying social classes and degree of modernity in the particular culture. Due to the differences in modernity, social class, heterogeneity, etc., results addressing the elderly in one culture are not necessarily applicable interculturally. However, the findings of research on aging in differing cultures can and should be compared and contrasted interculturally.

Binstock and Shanas (1976, p. 178) justified their examination of interviewee age group responses toward the elderly cohort on cultures outside the United States of America by asking the following question. "Is there something different in other societies that would result in a different picture of [responses toward the elderly] than found in the U.S.?"

It is established that aging research is needed on a global level. And, that in particular research on interviewee age group responses toward young adult, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts is an area of gerontological research which demands more examination. Greece is a country which is asking for researchers to study their elderly cohort and specifically to examine interviewee age group responses toward the young adult, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts.



### Need for Research on Aging in Greece

As has been noted, the young adult, middle-aged, and elderly in various cultures need to be examined within their own environment according to their own societal norms. One area of this research would be interviewee age group responses toward the young adult, middle-aged, and elderly cohort labels. Research in Greece soliciting responses toward age cohort labels has been virtually nonexistent. Greek scientists are aware of this lack of research and the necessity of this type of knowledge in benefitting Greece in the future.

Accumulating problems are clearly gathering into a whirlwind, and if Greece remains unprepared it seems likely that it will face immense difficulties and unforeseeable consequences for its economic and social life. Hence, there is an imperative need to study promptly the need of old age in all its aspects . . . and to ensure that its solution is embodied in a comprehensive, lucid, and coordinated national program, based on conditions in Greece and corresponding to Greece's needs and capacities. (Zarras, 1980, p. 178)

The Greek government has become aware of the rapid increase in the number of elderly persons within the Greek population.

The demographic history of Greece in the past 30 years presents one of the fastest aging trends in the world: inhabitants aged 60 and over who accounted for somewhat less than 10.0% of the population in 1950, will reach the level of 21.1% in the year 2000. Inhabitants aged 85 years and over are expected to increase at a particularly fast pace in the next 20 years, from 75.4 thousand in 1980 to 147.3 thousand in 2000. (Greek National Committee for the World Assembly on Aging, 1982, p. 52)

The increase in the elderly cohort is representing a group which needs special attention. The Greek government is aware that research regarding the aged is a necessity which will aid the elderly in adapting to their situation, while simultaneously aiding younger cohorts in interacting with the elderly.

The aging in Greece as in many other countries represent a significant non-homogeneous part of the population with varying needs, the extent of which can only be estimated with indepth research. (Greek National Committee for the World Assembly on Aging, 1982, p. 53)

To best understand the situation of the young, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts in Greece today, a description of the Greek national character is the result of a history which has shaped and molded the psyche and behaviors of Greek males and females while also defining the roles they assume in the family and the community.

#### Greek National Character

Greece is a rapidly changing and developing society. These changes are both economic and social, influenced by powers inside and outside the country. The long history and turbulence in Greece has, until the present, cemented the traditions, customs, and roles of all Greeks according to their age, gender, and socioeconomic status. Until the current time these roles defined the individual within the social structure. Hence, "the social world became a predictable place in which to live, and social identity guided the individual in his interactions with others" (Tamir, 1979, p. 103). With the changing status of the female in Greek society, the change of government which abolished oppressive age and gender laws, and apparent alterations in the family unit and structure, traditional age and gender roles are not as predictable as they had been in the past. These changing roles may also affect the predictability of age-group responses toward what had been previously defined age-gender cohorts. Skoglund's (1979-1980) research

has verified just such a shift in attitude change in relation to societal changes. He stated, "Societal changes over time are likely to affect the attitudes toward the elderly" (p. 58).

Until the last 10 years, events in Greek history have been the impetus for the development of certain Greek characteristics. And, to best understand Greek character today, one must know the history of the Greek people. Specifically, historical events have created four cultural characteristics. These characteristics are first, the unification of the Greek population (all for one and one for all); second, dependence on the "male hero" for survival of the cultural values; third, overprotective role of mother for son; and fourth, the strength of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The feeling of Greek unification dates back to 1453 when the rise of the Ottoman Empire placed the Balkans under Ottoman rule. For 350 years the relationship between the Greeks and the Ottomans was hostile. This escalating hostility caused two cultural values to develop. First, the Greek valued autonomy of culture in order to resist Ottoman rule. Second, the church became important among the Greek population as the means to teaching the Greek language and cultural traditions of the Greek culture.

The Greek male was considered responsible for physically saving Greek cultural values. He was constantly away from the home fighting for the existence of a Greek nationality and retention of Greek culture.

The threat from the Ottomans kept the best of the Greeks constantly in the mountains and away from the villages, so that the modern Greek view of the ideal man is strongly influenced by the image of the guerilla. (Triandis, 1972, p. 302)

The overprotective Greek mother became a necessity during the Ottoman Empire. This necessity was both physical and psychological. The mother had to have an ever constant watch over her young sons because the kidnapping of young Greek males by Ottomans was a continual threat. Also, the mother had the role of instilling "Greek character" into their children and bringing them to the Greek Orthodox Church (which also served as a school) to reestablish the values and teach them the Greek language.

The Ottoman period was characterized by child-rearing practices that reflect the fact that women were the only adults physically present in the home. The father was psychologically present, but the mother was the chief agent who perpetuated the values of the culture. The mother's task was extremely difficult. On the one hand she had to prevent assimilation of her children into the Ottoman empire and on the other she had to rear them in the image of a hero. Such a difficult task demanded strong maternal control which in turn fostered great dependency among the children. (Triandis, 1972, p. 303)

Since 1821 when a revolution against the Ottoman rule was organized, Greece has been characterized by political instability with continued reinforcement of the cultural characteristics which have been described. However, within the last 10 years the various governments in power have been initiating and implementing economic changes which directly affect the class structure. These economic changes, the abolishment of oppressive laws toward women and the birth of three strong branches of the women's liberation movement, are redefining both male and female traditional roles. The redefining of the gender roles is also affecting the roles of individuals within age cohorts. Also, without outside pressure to assimilate into a foreign culture, religion is not assuming the importance in the perpetuation of the Greek culture as it once did.

The socialist government has made steps toward reducing the role of the Greek Churches over the people. The socialist Prime Minister, for example, decreed that civil marriages which had previously been illegal were recognized under the socialist government. Also, he proclaimed that the baptism of every child was no longer mandatory, but was up to the parents' discretion. Zamanou (personal communication, May 20, 1984), a Greek national, believes that the "influence of the church in daily life has greatly decreased among the young and middle-aged. Furthermore, the recent change in attitude toward the church has been so pervasive that current documentation in English concerning the change would be nearly impossible to find."

The election of a socialist government in 1981 magnified the increasing equality of the genders, the less defined roles of the age cohorts, and the more easily classified and competitive upper, middle, and lower socioeconomic classes. Margaret Papandreou highlighted the change in status of Greek women with the incoming of the socialist government. "Seven years of dictatorship kept women away from any kind of political activity. All the women's organizations were abolished and women were actually put in jail for having belonged to women's organizations. When I came back, the first two years the whole society was functioning under fear but women were especially afraid. . . . [The women's organizations today] are very progressive and socialist" (Dworkin, 1983, p. 88). Changes in laws are allowing genders and cohorts to redefine their roles. For example, "For the first time in Greek history, there is a law permitting divorce by consent. The traditional requirement that women provide dowries has been abolished,

and married women may own property" (Adams, 1983, p. 698). Finally, the economy is further defining the status of individuals and families as part of an upper, middle, or lower socioeconomic class (Larrabee, 1983). The genders, age cohorts, and socioeconomic classes are each influencing and influenced by the other. As gender equality is increasing, defined cohort roles are decreasing, and residence in neighborhoods predominantly one socioeconomic level is the rule rather than the exception.

The interdependence of the age, gender, and socioeconomic level and change in societal norms among the Greek people is illustrated by this description of the young age cohort in Greece today:

Meanwhile the younger age groups which scarcely know of the more traditional parents [and grandparents] have moved away, are exposed through the press, intensive advertising, and cinema (which is their particular addiction) to an unreal and deracinated version of Western materialism in which the delights of consumption predominate over the problems of production. (Campbell & Sherrard, 1968, p. 369)

Taking the Greek character into account, when recording and rating interviewee age group responses toward specific age cohorts, gender and socioeconomic neighborhoods must be considered.

These interviewee age group word-responses toward specific genders and age cohorts (referred to as age-gender cohort labels) are vocalizations of the thoughts held about these labels. The vocalizations are the language which is merely an extension of the thought. Communication scholars often examine words expressed to determine thoughts held toward a concept (label). "Although all our behaviors have possible meaning for a receiver, language is by far our most explicit form of communication. In using it our desire is to facilitate thought, not to obscure it" (Tubbs & Moss, 1983, p. 138).

### Language and Thought

The verbal responses toward age-gender cohort labels are extensions of the thoughts about these age cohorts and genders. This being true, it is necessary to review the development of the reasoning behind the concept that words are representative of thoughts about a stimulus (referred to as label in this research).

The belief that spoken language is the verbalization of thoughts about a stimulus object, idea, or event was first purported as a scientific theory in Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech (Sapir, 1921). Sapir asserted that not only was spoken language a reflection of thoughts, but that language also was the shaper of perceptions and thoughts. He stated the basis of this theory as,

Systematic inventory of the various items of experience which seem relevant to the individual, as is so often naively assumed, but is also a self-contained, creative, symbolic organization, which only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reasons of its formal completeness and because of our unconscious projection of its implicit expectations into the field of experience. (Mendelbaum, 1949, p. 2)

The language thus forms a subjective representation of the world, which is "a macrocosm that each man carries about within himself, by which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm" (Whorf, 1956, p. 147).

Benjamin Whorf, a student of Edward Sapir, carried forth Sapir's theory asserting that language and thought have a direct influence on one another. He stated, "Each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but is itself a shaper of ideas" (Whorf, 1956, p. 56). In response to Whorf's hypothesis, Cornforth (1963)

contended that not only were language and thought influenced by each other, but that they were inseparable. He theorized that "the development of thinking and the power of thought are inseparable from and dependent on the development and power of speech" (p. 45).

As Cornforth stated that speech and thought are comparable, Vygotsky (1962) asserted that the "meaning" of an object for an individual is expressed through the spoken language. The spoken language (the word) is a result of thought. He defined this "meaning" as representing "such a close amalgam of thought and language it is hard to tell which is a phenomenon of speech or a phenomenon of thought" (p. 120). Thus, thoughts and language both represent the meaning of an object for an individual.

Thought, language, and meaning being so thoroughly intertwined, the thoughts that an individual has toward a label (stimulus) will be emitted through language. And, words are the language through which these thoughts are expressed. Cornforth, supporting this concept stated, "Words which express or stand for thoughts must also stand for whatever these thoughts are about" (Cornforth, 1963, p. 45).

In summary, thoughts and language are inseparable (Sapir, Whorf, Cornforth) and are expressed with words. These words represent the meaning of a label (stimulus) for an individual (Vygotsky, 1962). Understanding that the meaning of a label by an individual is positive, neutral, or negative, then the words used to express this meaning will also be positive, neutral, or negative.

Szalay and Deese (1978) use the term "affectivity" when referring to the concept that the meaning of a label by an individual can be expressed positively, neutrally, or negatively. They stated this:



Affectivity simply recognizes the fact that we evaluate most things positively or negatively, and even for those concepts we may not evaluate [neutrality], we always have the potential for doing so. (p. 21)

Having established that a label can hold a positive, neutral, or negative meaning by an individual, it can also be posited that a label can hold a positive, neutral, or negative meaning by a group. The positive, neutral, or negative meaning held by a group toward a label can be identified by employing the word association test. Word association, contend Szalay and Deese (1978), measures the "portrayal of the structured subjective reaction of some group of individuals toward some significant concept" (p. 17).

The "significant concepts" examined through word association in this research are the age-gender cohort labels: young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female. The "subjective reactions" toward these significant concepts are the positive, neutral, or negative responses. And finally, the "groups of individuals" which respond with their subject reactions toward the significant concepts are young males from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, young females from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, middle-aged males from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, middle-aged females from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, elderly males from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, and elderly females from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods.

### Word Association Test

The word association test is an appropriate tool for obtaining individual responses toward a label. Freimuth and Jamieson (1979) believe that "language reveals hidden judgments about elders and aging" (p. 1). Thus, it is through verbal word associations that this research is identifying the interviewee age group judgments toward age-gender cohort labels in Athens, Greece.

As previously stated, the word association test is the appropriate tool for this research. The rationale for employing this tool relates to language, thought, and meaning. The word association test has the potential to elicit responses by an individual or group toward a label. The responses reflect the thoughts about and therefore the meaning of the label by the interviewee or by the group. Cramer (1968) supported the word association approach of deciphering meanings of labels for individuals and groups by stating, "the behavior observed in the responses given to a word association test reflects the functioning of the underlying thought process of individuals" (p. 6). Deese (1965) was able to summarize the complete relationship between thought, meanings, and the elicited responses (word associations) to age-gender cohort labels by respondents in Athens, Greece.

We study associations in order to make inferences about the nature of human thought and these associations are cast in the language which embodies the thought. . . . To the extent that verbal behavior is the mediator of thought, modern associative theory is a theory of thought. The whole of the current concern with the associative mediators, as a matter of fact, is an effort to use these associative properties of explicit verbal processes of thought. (p. 4)

With this in mind, young adult, middle-aged, and elderly persons can freely associate to the age-gender cohort labels: young male,

young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female. These freely associated responses represent "the meaning of the [label] embedded in a matrix of knowledge" (Szalay & Deese, 1978, p. 17).

Furthermore, the freely associated word responses toward the age-gender cohort labels are then generalizeable to the age cohort, gender, and socioeconomic neighborhood of the individual interviewed (the person who completed the word association test). In sum, the word associations "serve to illustrate that free association informs us about subjective culture . . ." (Szalay & Deese, 1978, p. 20).

A sentence completion test (first used by Tendler, 1930) can be adapted to the common word association test. Traditional sentence completion tests have "reliability problems inherent in the coding of sentence completion responses" (Golde & Kogan, 1959, p. 355). However, with the sentence fragments each being identical in form and requiring a one word response from the individual being interviewed to complete the sentence, the reliability problem is obviated. The sentence fragment then assumes the role of the stimulus word in a word association test, and the one word completion of the test is the word associated with the stimulus (see Appendix E for example of sentence completion test adapted from word association test for this research).

#### Purpose of the Study

Research conducted in the United States of America on young, middle-aged, and elderly responses toward the young, middle, and elderly cohort labels has generally concluded that all cohorts respond to the elderly

cohort less favorably than their own, and that the elderly respond to their own cohort the least favorably of all.

Gender and socioeconomic status, as well as age, have been variables considered in this area of research. Gender has been examined both as a subject variable and as a cohort label variable. When gender was incorporated, researchers questioned whether the genders of the subject significantly influenced their responses toward other age cohort labels. The results have been inconclusive. One school of thought concluded that female subjects responded more negatively toward the elderly than did male subjects. Contradictory to the first claim, other researchers concluded that females responded less negatively than did males toward the elderly. And a third group of researchers claimed that no relationship existed between male and female responses toward the elderly cohort. Research questioning whether the gender of the cohort being responded to influenced the subjects has yielded fairly consistent results. In general, researchers claimed that young and middle-aged males were responded to more favorably than young and middle-aged females, but that elderly females were responded to more favorably than elderly males.

Gerontologists in the United States of America have also established criteria for classifying individuals as young, middle-aged, and elderly. The criteria for establishing these categories has varied according to the mode of classification. However, most researchers agree that when conducting experimental research on aging, the most feasible approach to categorizing persons as young, middle-aged, or elderly is by chronological age spans. Therefore, there is a specific

age range for young, middle-aged, and elderly. Hence, individuals of specific chronological ages will qualify as either young, middle-aged, or elderly.

The above cited studies are valid for the United States of America; but most theorists agree that this research is not applicable interculturally. Due to numerous demographic and sociological factors, it is an uncontested opinion that there is a need for global studies of the age cohorts, specifically the elderly, in their own environments. Thus, one needed area of study is interviewee age group responses toward the young adult, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts in Athens, Greece.

Gerontologists and government officials in the country of Greece are aware that little research has been conducted regarding the situation of the elderly in their country. They have unconditionally stated the need for the initiation of this area of research. Furthermore, virtually no examination of interviewee age-group responses toward the young adult, middle-aged, and elderly cohorts has been conducted in Athens, Greece.

When conducting aging research in Greece, the first question that must be answered is concerning the criteria for qualifying as young, middle-aged, or elderly. Those three age cohorts have previously been established in the United States of America, they must also be established in Greece. And, because gender has been cited as a variable which affects the criteria for qualifying as young, middle-aged, or elderly, it must also be taken into account. Therefore, the purpose of the Preliminary Phase of this research is to establish the following age-gender cohorts: young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female.

The second question that must be answered concerns the differences in interviewee age-gender group responses toward the young, middle-aged, and elderly cohort labels in Athens, Greece. The purpose of the Experimental Phase of this research is to answer this question. A form of the word association test is a reliable tool for recording the interviewee age-gender group responses toward the young, middle-aged, and elderly cohort labels. The interviewees participating in the Experimental Phase of the research are those who meet the chronological age-gender cohort criteria established in the Preliminary Phase: young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female. Furthermore, these six age-gender cohorts are represented by three socioeconomic neighborhoods: lower socioeconomic neighborhood, middle socioeconomic neighborhood, upper socioeconomic neighborhood.

Each word-response elicited by an interviewee in the word association test has the potential for having a positive, neutral, or negative meaning. Rating each word-response as positive, neutral, or negative answers the question as to whether there are significant differences in Athens, Greece, between interviewee age-gender group responses toward the age-gender cohort labels: young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female.

#### Research Hypotheses

Based upon previous studies concerning young, middle-aged, and elderly responses toward the young, middle-aged, and elderly cohort

labels and the current need for this research in Athens, Greece, the following hypotheses are forwarded for testing in this study.

Hypothesis I. There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the young, middle-aged, and elderly interviewees toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, elderly female.

Hypothesis II. There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the male and female interviewees toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

Hypothesis III. There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the upper socioeconomic neighborhood, middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

Hypothesis IV. There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by all interviewees, regardless of age, gender, or socioeconomic neighborhood, toward the age-gender cohort labels of young, middle-aged, and elderly.

## CHAPTER TWO METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the methodology and procedural steps employed in testing the hypotheses developed in Chapter One. Specifically, this chapter will address sampling design, interviewing procedures, apparatus utilized, coding of data, and statistical tests used to determine support of the suggested hypotheses.

This research employed a descriptive, cross-sectional field-study design in Athens, Greece. The sites of the study were neighborhoods chosen according to their socioeconomic stratification. The research was divided into two phases. Phase One (Preliminary Phase) established the age spans that Athenians attributed to the age-gender cohort labels "young men," "young women," "middle-aged men," "middle-aged women," "elderly men," and "elderly women." In Phase Two (Experimental Phase) data were collected from interviewers whose ages and genders correspond with the six age-gender cohort labels established in the Preliminary Phase. Those who were interviewed and responded to the age spans of the age-gender cohort labels established in the Preliminary Phase are referred throughout the study as "interviewees." The data from the Experimental Phase yielded the "interviewees" evaluations regarding the six age-gender cohort labels. In essence then, the responses of the six age-gender cohorts interviewed can be considered the dependent variables in this study. These "interviewees" responded to specific



phrases; these phrases being the age spans for six specific age-gender cohort labels. These phrases are referred to throughout this study as age-gender cohort labels. And, because these phrases are constant for each interviewee they can be considered the independent variables.

The Preliminary Phase and Pilot study were completed during the summer months of 1982. The Preliminary Phase served as the foundation for the actual data collection of the Experimental Phase in this completed research. The Pilot study conducted in 1982 served as a guide for the design of the Experimental Phase data collected November and December, 1983, and January, 1984.

The remainder of the Methods section details both the Preliminary and the Experimental Phases. Described for both phases are the sampling designs and the interviewing procedures. Determination of the age spans for the age-gender cohort labels in the Preliminary Phase is explained. Finally, the apparatus employed in the Experimental Phase is described and the scoring method of the interviewee responses in the Experimental Phase is outlined.

#### Sampling Design and Socioeconomic Neighborhoods: Preliminary Phase

One hundred and twenty-five male and female Greek nationals ranging from 15 to 80 years of age participated in this phase of the research. They were chosen from five neighborhoods, of three socioeconomic classes, in Athens, Greece. The socioeconomic neighborhoods were suggested by population experts employed by the Greek Ministry of Social Services. Twenty-five subjects were randomly chosen from households in each of

the designated socioeconomic neighborhoods. Two areas were designated as upper socioeconomic neighborhoods, one was a middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and two were lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. Those interviewed were residents who were amenable to participating in this research. Table 1 illustrates the age spans established for each age-gender cohort by each of the socioeconomic neighborhoods.

Sampling Design and Socioeconomic Neighborhoods:  
Experimental Phase

One hundred and eight male and female subjects were interviewed from three specifically designated socioeconomic neighborhoods for the Experimental Phase of the research. This population was equally divided into 36 interviewees from the lower socioeconomic neighborhood, 36 interviewees from the middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and 36 interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood. Eighteen of each of the 36 interviewees from each socioeconomic neighborhood were male and 18 were female (see Table 2).

The upper socioeconomic neighborhood canvassed was Aghia Paraskevi. The middle and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods interviewed were Panteleimon Ilisiou and Peristeri. Appendices B, C, and D are maps of the three neighborhoods interviewed. Appendix B is Peristeri (lower socioeconomic neighborhood); Appendix C is Panteleimon Ilisiou (middle socioeconomic neighborhood); Appendix D is Aghia Paraskevi (upper socioeconomic neighborhood).

Dr. Panayiotis Dimitras suggested the conducting of interviews in these three socioeconomic neighborhoods. Furthermore, he designated

Table 1

Preliminary Phase: Age Spans Established for Each Age-Gender Cohort

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Socioeconomic Neighborhood of Interviewees			
	LSEN <sup>a</sup>	MSEN <sup>b</sup>	USEN <sup>c</sup>	Overall <sup>d</sup>
Young Male	19-35	17-36	18-35	18-35
Young Female	17-32	16-34	18-34	17-33
Middle-Aged Male	42-60	44-58	45-59	45-58
Middle-Aged Female	40-52	43-56	44-57	42-55
Elderly Male	65-	64-	66-	65-
Elderly Female	62-	63-	65-	63-

<sup>a</sup>LSEN: Lower Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

<sup>b</sup>MSEN: Middle Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

<sup>c</sup>USEN: Upper Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

<sup>d</sup>Overall: The average minimum and maximum age for each age gender cohort from all three socioeconomic neighborhoods.

Table 2

Experimental Phase: Number of Interviewees in Each Category

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Socioeconomic Neighborhood of Interviewees			
	LSEN <sup>a</sup>	MSEN <sup>b</sup>	USEN <sup>c</sup>	Total
Young Male	6	6	6	18
Young Female	6	6	6	18
Middle-Aged Male	6	6	6	18
Middle-Aged Female	6	6	6	18
Elderly Male	6	6	6	18
Elderly Female	6	6	6	18
Total	36	36	36	108

<sup>a</sup>LSEN: Lower Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

<sup>b</sup>MSEN: Middle Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

<sup>c</sup>USEN: Upper Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

areas within each neighborhood to conduct the interviews. These areas are indicated on the maps in Appendices B, C, and D.

Dr. Dimitras was employed as a primary source of advice and direction for this research. He was sought out because, first, he is a reputable Greek political scientist located in Athens, Greece; second, he has conducted door-to-door polling and research in Athens; and, third, he is founder and director of Evrodin, the Public Opinion Polling Organization in Athens, Greece. (See Appendix A for Dr. Dimitras' credentials.) The three socioeconomic neighborhoods suggested for this research by Dr. Dimitras have been established, through his organization's polling and interviews, as the most representative of the upper, middle, and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods in the Athens area. Table 2 indicates the total 108 interviewees in the Experimental Phase of this research according to their age genders and socioeconomic neighborhoods.

#### Interviewer: Preliminary Phase

The author and an interviewer jointly conducted each interview in the Preliminary Phase of the research. The interviewer was a female Greek national (Ms. Sonia Zamanou). This author, an American female, is also fluent in the Greek language. The interviewer initiated and conducted all the interviews. The author accompanied the interviewer on each interview in order to answer any questions which arose concerning the procedures, protocol, or the nature of the research project.

Interviewer: Experimental Phase

All 108 interviews in the Experimental Phase of this research were conducted by a female Greek National (Ms. Maria Stengle). Ms. Stengle was trained for this project by the author and Dr. Dimitras. According to Dr. Dimitras the most effective and successful interviews in Greece are conducted by unaccompanied married female Greek Nationals between the ages of 25 and 35. Ms. Maria Stengle is a 31 year old married Greek National. The author did not accompany the interviewer during the Experimental Phase because Dr. Dimitras suggested that a North American accompanying the research assistant might very well inhibit or alter the interviewees' responses.

Dr. Dimitras conducts training seminars on polling for his hired interviewers. Ms. Stengle attended one such three-hour seminar. The seminar included instruction in initiating conversation with interviewees, explaining the purpose of the interview, putting the interviewees at ease during the interview, terminating the interview, and dressing appropriately for the interview. On a second occasion Dr. Dimitras, Maria Stengle, and the author met together so as to inform Ms. Stengle of the breadth and scope of this research and her specific purpose and role as interviewer and research assistant. Finally, Ms. Stengle conducted sample interviews, under the tutelage of the author, during the summer of 1983, in order to train for the actual interviews and data collection in Experimental Phase. In sum, it is apparent that the interviewer in the Experimental Phase of this research was the most appropriate gender and age, and was thoroughly trained to conduct the interviews.

Procedure: Preliminary Phase

Each interview conducted during the Preliminary Phase of the research began with the interviewer introducing the purpose of the door-to-door interview and asking for the residents' cooperation and participation. The interviewer initiated each conversation as follows:

Good day, we are conducting interviews for a research project from an American university about age norms in Athens, Greece. If you have a few moments, would you be willing to help us?

At this point, if the resident was amenable to the interview, the author recorded the interviewee's demographic information (e.g., age, gender, and socioeconomic neighborhood).

The interviewer then asked the following questions, while the author wrote down the interviewee's responses:

When I say young male, from what age to what age comes to mind?

When I say young female, from what age to what age comes to mind?

When I say middle-aged male, from what age to what age comes to mind?

When I say middle-aged female, from what age to what age comes to mind?

When I say elderly male, from what age to what age comes to mind?

When I say elderly female, from what age to what age comes to mind?

This procedure then yielded means for the minimum and maximum ages for the six age-gender cohorts above (Table 1). These age spans will be referred to as age-gender cohort labels in the Experimental Phase of the research.

Procedure: Experimental Phase

Ninety-six subjects were interviewed in a Pilot study during the summer of 1982. The Pilot study gave rise to design changes for the Experimental Phase of the research. The major design changes affected the number of interviewers, choice of socioeconomic neighborhoods, selection of residences in each neighborhood, and additional demographic questions to the interviewees.

The unaccompanied interviewer conducted each interview at residences within the designated areas on the maps provided by Dr. Dimitras. Within each neighborhood, the interviewer approached every third private home, or every third private apartment within an apartment complex. This approach was suggested by Dr. Dimitras to further randomize the sample. Ms. Stengle also interviewed only one person per household so as to obviate similarities in responses due to the influence of others being present.

Ms. Stengle initiated each interview with the same request for participation as in the Preliminary Phase of the research. However, once the subject agreed to participate in the interview, he/she was only interviewed if he/she qualified as a young, middle-aged, or elderly person within the age spans for those age-gender cohort labels that were established by the Preliminary Phase.

If the subject agreed to the interview, he/she was first asked demographic questions. Aside from age, gender, and neighborhood, each subject was asked the following two questions:

- (1) In your life, you are generally:
  - very happy
  - happy enough
  - a little happy
  - not happy at all



- (2) You go to church:  
--almost every Sunday  
--some Sundays  
--only on major holidays (i.e., Christmas, Easter)  
--only baptisms, weddings, funerals  
--never

The life-satisfaction question was included to ascertain a possible correlation between responses toward an age-gender cohort label and degree of life satisfaction.

Similarly, the second question could identify any correlation between frequency of church attendance and mean ratings of word-responses of interviewees toward age-gender cohort labels. This question is important because until October, 1981, there was no separation between Church and State in Greece. Since the Church has played such a primary role in the direction of Greek politics, it was thought that religious behaviors (frequency of Church attendance) might have a significant relationship to interviewees' word-responses toward age-gender cohort labels.

All questions from the initiation to the termination of the interview were asked orally by the interviewer. Likewise, all word-responses from the interviewees were oral and recorded in writing by the interviewer. Subjects who had impaired visual acuity, physical difficulty completing a questionnaire, or were illiterate were able to participate in this research. A control tape, containing one interview from each age-gender cohort was recorded to establish the interviewer's initiation, paralinguistic qualities and termination of each interview, therefore enabling interested researchers to replicate the interview procedures exactly. This tape is available, upon request, from the author.

The interviewee then responded to the sentence completion phase of the interview (see Appendix E for a sample of the sentence completion test). The stimulus words, imbedded in each sentence, were those ages established by the Preliminary Phase of the research which defined and labeled the age spans for "young male," "young female," "middle-aged male," "middle-aged female," "elderly male," and "elderly female." (See Appendix E for a sample of the sentence completion test.)

The sentence completion test consisted of a six page booklet. Each page was concerned with one age-gender cohort label (e.g., a man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_). The six pages were arranged in differing orders in each booklet to avoid possible biased responses because one specific age-gender cohort label sentence fragment was completed first or last, etc.

Each interviewee had the opportunity to complete 10 sentence fragments for each age-gender cohort label. Age and gender labels are defined as the age spans for each gender established in the Preliminary Phase of the research. However, it was not mandatory for each interviewee to respond to all sentence fragments. He/she was instructed to respond to as many as he/she felt comfortable completing.

Other confounding factors needed to be avoided. The possibility existed that a confounding factor which could arise would be the reliability of the interviewee's responses. This factor has been labeled the "chain effect." The "chain effect" is, in essence, an interviewee's response to the last word emitted by the subject to the

"stimulus" word rather than each utterance being a response to the original "stimulus" word. To avoid the "chain effect" (Szalay & Deese, 1978) the interviewee responds to the repeated sentence fragment rather than his/her previous word-response to the age-gender cohort label.

It is important that in giving your responses to always take the given word into consideration. For example, if the stimulus word was "table" and your answer was "writing," in giving the subsequent responses you must refer back to table and avoid chain response ("writing," "pen," "ink," "blue," "ocean," "sail," etc.). (p. 27)

Due to this rationale, Ms. Stengle repeated the incomplete sentence each time an interviewee emitted a word-response completing the sentence. For example, if the incomplete sentence was "A man from 18 to 35 is \_\_\_\_\_," with each response the interviewer would repeat the sentence fragment to avoid the chain effect.

#### Apparatus: Experimental Phase

The booklet completed during each interview in the Experimental Phase of this research was an adaptation of the Szalay and Deese word association test (1978). The age-gender cohort labels were the genders and age spans for each of the cohorts established from the Preliminary Phase of the research. The age and gender labels were imbedded in incomplete sentences (sentence fragments) which were completed with one word-responses by the interviewees during the interviews in the Experimental Phase. (See Appendix E for an example of the booklet completed during the interview.) The sentence completion procedure was employed in order to obtain the interviewees' word-responses to the age-gender cohort labels.

The sentence fragments were contained in a six page booklet. As mentioned above, each page contained 10 identical sentence fragments. The age and gender labels that had been established in the Preliminary Phase were imbedded in the sentence fragments presented by the interviewer and completed orally by the interviewee with one word associated with the age and gender label imbedded in the incomplete sentence.

As previously outlined, each interviewee, prior to the sentence completion task, answered 5 demographic questions regarding age, gender, neighborhood, degree of life satisfaction, and frequency of church attendance.

#### Determining Age Spans: Preliminary Phase

The following is a detailed clarification of the determination of age spans in the Preliminary Phase. Data from the Preliminary Phase interviews yielded means for the minimum and maximum ages attributed by Athenians to the six age-gender cohorts. Interviewees' responses for each gender and age cohort were summed and averaged. These means determined the age spans for each gender and age cohort to be employed as age-gender cohort labels in the sentence completions during the Experimental Phase of this research.

Table 1 identifies the age spans established for each age-gender cohort from the lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods. Overall, "young males" were defined as being between the ages of 18 and 35, "young females" were defined as being between the ages of 17 and 33, "middle-aged males" were defined as being between the ages of 45 and 58, "middle-aged" females were defined as being between the ages of 42 and

55, "elderly males" were defined as being over 65 years of age, and "elderly females" were defined as being over 63 years of age.

#### Scoring: Experimental Phase

The semantic differential is an instrument designed to measure the meaning of a concept for an individual or a group. The term "concept" is used "in a very general sense to refer to the 'stimulus' to which the subject's checking operation is a terminal 'response'" (Osgood et al., 1977, p. 77). Employing the semantic differential, subjects respond to the stimulus by placing check-marks on a seven point scale. The check-marks are considered the raw data, and each carries a specific weight. "The raw data obtained with the semantic differential are a collection of check-marks against bipolar scales. To each of the seven positions on these scales, we arbitrarily assign a digit. These digits may be either 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 or +3, +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, -3" (Osgood et al., 1977, pp. 85-86).

In this research, the subjects' word-responses toward age-gender cohort labels (stimuli) were considered the raw data. The word-responses were coded and assigned weights (digits) using a modified version of the semantic differential weighting technique (N.N. Markel, personal communication, Spring, 1983).

Data collected during the Experimental Phase of this research were coded according to positive, neutral, or negative values. Two native Greek speakers living in Athens, Greece, volunteered to code the interviewees' word-responses for the interviewer. The coders were trained

to identify words as containing positive (+), neutral (0), or negative (-) value to each of the word-responses used to complete the incomplete sentences. If there was a discrepancy between the values assigned each particular word-response by the coders, a third trained coder chose the value which most suited the word. The word then carried the mediated value. (See Appendix F for an example of this coding method.)

Individual interviewee word-responses for each age-gender cohort label was assigned a weight. A positive (+) valued word response was assigned a weight of "3." A neutral (0) valued word response was assigned a weight of "2." A negative (-) valued word response was assigned a weight of "1." The weights were summed and averaged, yielding an overall weight for the interviewees' word-responses for each specific age-gender cohort label. (See Appendix F for an example of this weighting procedure.)

### CHAPTER THREE RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the interviewees' word-responses toward the six age-gender cohort labels. As previously discussed, the six age-gender cohort labels are considered the independent variables, and the interviewees' word-responses are considered the dependent variables. Particular emphasis is given to interrater reliability, statistical analyses used to analyze the research data, and results of research data according to each hypothesis.

#### Interrater Reliability of Coding Wording Word-Responses

Interrater reliability coefficients were assessed concerning value assignment to the word-responses completing the sentence fragments for the sentence completion tests. Values were assigned by the three independently trained raters. This determined the percent agreement between these raters of the values (+, 0, -) assigned to each of the interviewee's word-responses to the sentence fragments. The formula used was

$$\text{Percent Agreement} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{total possible agreements}}$$

This produced a percentage equivalent to an estimation of agreement at 81%.

### Statistical Analyses

Multivariate analysis of variance was employed to examine the first three hypotheses. This test ascertained whether word-responses assigned to the age-gender cohort labels were significantly different between the age-gender cohort interviewed in three socioeconomic neighborhoods. This identified which main effects were significant. Then, the analysis of variance was employed to examine which of the interviewed groups were significantly different in their word-responses to the age-gender cohort labels. Finally, Tukey's Studentized (HSD) range test, on the basis of the analysis of variance, identified the difference between the interviewees' mean ratings of word-responses toward the six age-gender cohort labels.

Analysis of variance for repeated measures was conducted for the fourth hypothesis. This test ascertained whether all interviewees' mean ratings, regardless of age, gender, or socioeconomic neighborhood, responded differently toward the age cohort labels.

Table 3 presents the mean ratings of all interviewees by age and gender. Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c present this information for each socioeconomic neighborhood: lower socioeconomic neighborhood, middle socioeconomic neighborhood, upper socioeconomic neighborhood.

Table 4 presents a summary of the multivariate analysis of variance of the ratings of word-responses about the age-gender cohort labels by all interviewees. The multivariate analysis of variance indicated significance for the main effects of gender of interviewees, age of interviewees, and socioeconomic neighborhood of interviewees ( $p = .001$ ).



Table 3  
 Mean Ratings of Socioeconomic Neighborhood Interviewees Toward Age-Gender Cohort Labels  
 (a) Lower Socioeconomic Neighborhood

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees					
	Young		Middle-Aged		Elderly	
	M <sup>a</sup>	F	M	F	M	F
Young Male	2.2	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.9
Young Female	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.5	2.5
Middle-Aged Male	2.0	2.0	2.8	2.4	2.7	1.8
Middle-Aged Female	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.2
Elderly Male	1.2	1.2	1.7	2.0	1.6	1.5
Elderly Female	1.7	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.6
Means	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.9

Table 3  
Continued  
(b) Middle Socioeconomic Neighborhood

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees						
	M <sup>a</sup>	Young		Middle-Aged		Elderly	
		F	M	F	M	F	M
Young Male	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.5	2.0	
Young Female	2.0	2.5	2.1	2.4	1.6	2.1	
Middle-Aged Male	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.3	
Middle-Aged Female	2.2	2.7	2.2	2.7	2.2	2.6	
Elderly Male	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.8	
Elderly Female	2.0	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.7	
Means	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.1	

Table 3  
Continued  
(c) Upper Socioeconomic Neighborhood

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees					
	Young		Middle-Aged		Elderly	
	M <sup>a</sup>	F	M	F	M	F
Young Male	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.3
Young Female	2.0	2.9	2.1	2.4	2.1	2.5
Middle-Aged Male	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.6	3.0	2.3
Middle-Aged Female	1.7	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.5
Elderly Male	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.3
Elderly Female	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.4
Means	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0

Note: The higher the mean the more favorable the interviewee group word-responses. M = male interviewee; F = female interviewee.

<sup>a</sup><sub>n</sub> = 18 interviewees in each age-gender group.

Table 4

Multivariate Analyses of Variance Summary of Interviewee  
Ratings Toward Age-Gender Cohort Labels

Source	Test	p
Gender	0.920	0.0001
Age	0.776	0.0001
SEN	0.594	0.0002
Gender x Age	0.382	0.02
Gender x SEN	0.243	0.24
Age x SEN	0.400	0.44
Gender x Age x SEN	0.380	0.52

Tables 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 each present an analysis of variance summary which identifies the main effects indicated by the reported multivariate analysis of variance.

Table 5 is the analysis of variance summary of ratings of word-responses for the "young female" label (17-33 yrs.) by interviewees according to gender, age, and socioeconomic neighborhood. This table illustrates that at a probability of less than .01 the ratings of the word-responses for the "young female" label (17-33 yrs.) were affected by the gender of the interviewees.

Table 6 is the analysis of variance summary for ratings of word-responses for the "middle-aged male" label (45-58 yrs.) by interviewees according to gender, age, and socioeconomic neighborhood. This table illustrates that at a probability of less than .01 the ratings of the word-responses for the "middle-aged male" label were affected by the gender and socioeconomic neighborhood of the interviewees.

Table 7 is the analysis of variance summary of ratings of word-responses for the "middle-aged female" label (42-55 yrs.) by interviewees according to gender, age, and socioeconomic neighborhood. This table illustrates that at a probability of less than .05 the ratings of the word-responses for the "middle-aged female" label were affected by the ages of the interviewees.

Table 8 is the analysis of variance summary of ratings of word-responses for the "elderly female" label (over 63 yrs.) by interviewees according to gender, age, and socioeconomic neighborhood. This table illustrates that at a probability of less than .0001 the ratings of the word-responses for the "elderly female" label were affected by the socioeconomic neighborhood of the interviewees.

Table 5  
Analysis of Variance Results of Interviewees  
Toward Young Female Cohort Label

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	p
Model	17	8.70	0.52	0.39	0.004
Error	90	19.45	0.22		
Corrected Total	107	28.21			
Gender	1	2.06		9.51	0.003
Age	2	0.64		1.50	0.231
Socioeconomic Neighborhood	2	0.83		0.91	0.154
Gender x Age	2	0.41		0.94	0.400
Gender x SEN	2	2.11		4.90	0.009
Age x SEN	4	2.17		2.51	0.50
Gender x Age x SEN	4	0.56		0.65	0.630

Note: Main effect of gender was significant in the multivariate analysis of variance test and significant in the analysis of variance test.

Table 6  
Analysis of Variance Results of Interviewees  
Toward Middle-Aged Male Cohort Label

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	p
Model	17	9.26	0.54	2.18	0.001
Error	90	22.50	0.25	0.25	
Corrected Total	107	31.77			
Gender	1	1.69		6.80	0.01
Age	2	0.91		1.82	0.17
Socioeconomic Neighborhood	2	2.42		4.84	0.01
Gender x Age	2	1.54		3.07	0.05
Gender x SEN	2	0.44		0.88	0.42
Age x SEN	4	1.10		1.18	0.32
Gender x Age x SEN	4	1.08		1.08	0.37

Note: Main effects of gender and SEN were significant in the multi-variate analysis of variance test and significant in the analysis of variance test.

Table 7  
Analysis of Variance Results of Interviewees  
Toward Middle-Aged Female Cohort Label

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	p
Model	17	5.04	0.20	1.04	0.43
Error	90	25.00	0.29		
Corrected Total	107	30.89			0.54
Gender	1	0.03	0.12		0.73
Age	2	2.14	3.73		0.03
Socioeconomic Neighborhood	2	0.22	0.38		0.68
Gender x Age	2	0.72	1.25		0.29
Gender x SEN	2	0.03	0.06		0.95
Age x SEN	4	1.22	1.07		0.38
Gender x Age x SEN	4	0.74	0.61		0.66

Note: Main effect of age was significant in the multivariate analysis of variance test and the analysis of variance test.



Table 8  
Analysis of Variance Results of Interviewees  
Toward Elderly Female Cohort Label

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	p
Model	17	10.41	0.61	1.58	0.09
Error	90	34.86	0.39		
Corrected Total	107	45.27			
Gender	1	0.27		0.70	0.41
Age	2	0.51		0.66	0.52
Socioeconomic Neighborhood	2	7.92		10.22	0.0001
Gender x Age	2	0.74		0.95	0.40
Gender x SEN	2	0.02		0.03	0.97
Age x SEN	4	0.35		0.23	0.92
Gender x Age x SEN	4	0.59		0.38	0.82

Note: Main effect of SEN was significant in the multivariate analysis of variance test and the analysis of variance test.

Table 9  
Analysis of Variance Results of Interviewees'  
Degree of Religiosity

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	p
Model	17	41.85	2.46	6.10	0.001
Error	90	36.33	0.40		
Corrected Total	107	78.19			
Gender	1	16.33		40.46	0.001
Age	2	16.13		19.00	0.001
Socioeconomic Neighborhood	2	0.46		0.57	0.57
Gender x Age	2	2.06		2.60	0.08
Gender x SEN	2	0.50		0.62	0.54
Age x SEN	4	2.93		1.81	0.13
Gender x Age x SEN	4	3.44		2.13	0.08

Note: Main effects of gender and age were significant in the multivariate analysis of variance test and the analysis of variance test.

Table 9 is the analysis of variance summary of ratings of word-responses for the degree of religiosity of interviewees according to age, gender, and socioeconomic neighborhood. This table illustrates that at a probability of less than .001 the degree of religiosity was affected by the interviewees' genders and ages.

Tables 10, 11, and 12 present mean ratings of word-responses of interviewees toward age-gender cohort labels. Each table examines the mean ratings of word-responses by either interviewees' ages, genders, or socioeconomic neighborhoods. Tukey's Studentized (HSD) tests were performed on the mean ratings of the interviewees' word-responses as indicated by the superscripts in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

Table 10 illustrates the effect for the "elderly male" label on mean ratings of word-responses for young, middle-aged, and elderly interviewees. The mean ratings of word-responses by the young cohort interviewed were significantly different at the .01 level than the mean ratings of word-responses by the middle-aged and elderly cohorts interviewed. This is indicated by the "a" superscript in the table.

Table 11 illustrates the effect for the "young female" label, the "middle-aged male" label, and the "middle-aged female" label on mean ratings of word-responses for male and female interviewees. These mean ratings of word-responses by males and females interviewed were significant at the .01 level. This is indicated by the asterisks in the table.

Table 12 illustrates the effect for the "middle-aged male" label and the "elderly female" label on mean ratings of word-responses for interviewees from lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods.

Table 10

Tukey's Studentized (HSD) Range Test Mean Ratings of  
Interviewees by Age Group Toward Age-Gender  
Cohort Labels

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees		
	Young	Middle-Aged	Elderly
Young Male	2.2	2.0	1.9
Young Female	2.4	2.2	2.2
Middle-Aged Male	2.4	2.6	2.4
Middle-Aged Female	2.4	2.4	2.4
Elderly Male	1.4 <sup>a</sup>	1.7	1.6
Elderly Female	1.6	1.8	1.8

Note: For each mean,  $\underline{n}$  = 54.

<sup>a</sup>Means with no superscript are not significantly different.

Table 11

Tukey's Studentized (HSD) Range Test Mean Ratings of  
Interviewees by Gender Toward Age-Gender  
Cohort Labels

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees	
	Male	Female
Young Male	2.0	2.1
Young Female	2.1	2.4*
Middle-Aged Male	2.6*	2.3
Middle-Aged Female	2.3	2.5*
Elderly Male	1.5	1.6
Elderly Female	1.7	1.8

Note: For each mean,  $\underline{n}$  = 54.

\*Gender effect is significant ( $p < .01$ ).

Table 12  
Tukey's Studentized (HSD) Range Test Mean Ratings of  
Interviewees by SEN Toward Age-Gender  
Cohort Labels

Age-Gender Cohort Labels	Interviewees		
	LSEN <sup>c</sup>	MSEN <sup>d</sup>	USEN <sup>e</sup>
Young Male	1.9	2.0	2.3
Young Female	2.3	2.1	2.3
Middle-Aged Male	2.3 <sup>b</sup>	2.4 <sup>a,b</sup>	2.6 <sup>a*</sup>
Middle-Aged Female	2.4	2.4	2.4
Elderly Male	1.5	1.6	1.5
Elderly Female	1.8 <sup>b</sup>	2.1 <sup>b</sup>	1.4 <sup>a**</sup>

Note: For each mean,  $n = 36$ .

<sup>a,b</sup> Means with same superscript are not significantly different.

<sup>c,d,e</sup> Abbreviations: LSEN = Lower Socioeconomic Neighborhood; MSEN = Middle Socioeconomic Neighborhood; USEN = Upper Socioeconomic Neighborhood.

\*Effect is significant ( $p < .01$ ).

\*\*Effect is significant ( $p < .0001$ ).

These mean ratings of word-responses by the three socioeconomic neighborhoods were significant at the .01 level. This is indicated by the superscripts in the table.

Table 13 illustrates the effect for the "young" label, "middle-aged" label, and "elderly" label on mean ratings of word-responses for all interviewees. These mean ratings of word responses by all interviewees were significant at the .0001 level.

Analysis of variance was conducted to ascertain the difference between frequency of church attendance of the interviewees. Table 14 illustrates that at a level of .0001 the elderly, middle-aged, and young interviewed differ in their frequency of church attendance. Table 15 illustrates that at a level of .0001 males and females interviewed differ in their frequency of church attendance.

Analysis of variance was conducted to ascertain the difference between interviewees' degree of life satisfaction. There was no reported significant difference between interviewees' degree of life satisfaction regardless of age, gender, or socioeconomic neighborhood.

### Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis I--There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the young, middle-aged, and elderly interviewees toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

Table 13

Analysis of Variance for Repeated Measures Summary of All  
Interviewees Toward Age Cohort Labels

Group	All Cohort Labels		
	Young	Middle-Aged	Elderly
Interviewees	2.15	2.42	1.65

Note: For total interviewees,  $\underline{n}$  = 108.

Means are significantly different at a level of .0001.



Table 14

Analysis of Variance Summary of Interviewees (by Age Group)  
Frequency of Church Attendance

Age Cohort Group	Frequency of Church Attendance
Young	3.36
Middle-Aged	2.83
Elderly	2.45

Note: For each age group,  $n = 36$ . Each interviewee responded to a 1 through 5 scale on frequency of church attendance; 1 signified weekly attendance, ascending to 5 which signified no attendance at all.

Means are significantly different at a level of .0001.

Table 15

Analysis of Variance Summary of Interviewees (by Gender)  
Frequency of Church Attendance

Gender	Frequency of Church Attendance
Male	3.26
Female	2.49

Note: For each gender group,  $n = 54$ . Each interviewee responded to a 1 through 5 scale on frequency of church attendance; 5 signified weekly attendance, descending to 1 which signified no attendance at all.

Means are significantly different at a level of .0001.

This hypothesis was supported by the mean ratings of the young, middle-aged, and elderly interviewees' word-responses toward a select age cohort label. This select cohort label was the "elderly male" label. The mean ratings of the young interviewees' word-responses toward the "elderly male" label were significantly lower than the mean ratings of both the middle-aged and elderly interviewees' word-responses toward the "elderly male" label.

Hypothesis II--There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the male and female interviewees toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

This hypothesis was supported by the mean ratings of the word-responses of both male interviewees and female interviewees toward select age-gender cohort labels. First, the mean ratings of the female interviewees' word-responses toward the "young female" label and "middle-aged female" label were significantly higher than the mean ratings of the male interviewees' word-responses toward the "young female" label and the "middle-aged female" label. Second, the mean ratings of the male interviewees' word-responses toward the "middle-aged male" label were significantly higher than the mean ratings of the female interviewees' word-responses toward the "middle-aged male" label.

Hypothesis III--There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by the upper socioeconomic neighborhood toward the age-gender cohort labels of young male, young female, middle-aged male, middle-aged female, elderly male, and elderly female.

This hypothesis was supported by the mean ratings of the interviewees' word-responses from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood,

middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward select age-gender cohort labels. First, the mean ratings of the interviewees' word-responses from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "middle-aged male" label were significantly higher than the mean ratings of the lower socioeconomic neighborhood word-responses toward the "middle-aged male" label. Second, the mean ratings of the interviewees' word-responses from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "elderly female" label were significantly lower than the mean ratings of the interviewees' word-responses from both the middle socioeconomic neighborhood and the lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "elderly female" label.

Hypothesis IV--There will be a significant difference between the ratings of the word-responses by all interviewees, regardless of age, gender, or socioeconomic neighborhood, toward the age-cohort labels of young, middle-aged, and elderly.

This hypothesis was supported by the mean ratings of the word-responses of all interviewees toward the age cohort labels of "young," "middle-aged," and "elderly." The mean ratings of all interviewee's word-responses toward the "young" label were significantly lower than the mean ratings of all interviewees' word-responses toward the "middle-aged" label and significantly higher than the mean ratings of all interviewee's word-responses toward the "elderly" label.

## CHAPTER FOUR DISCUSSION

### Conclusions

The results of this study suggest that the young, middle-aged, and elderly age-gender cohorts from the lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic neighborhoods in Athens, Greece, elicit significantly different positive, neutral, and negative word-responses toward "young," "middle-aged," and "elderly" age-gender cohort labels. Analyses of the data suggest that each of the four hypotheses was supported in part. The purpose of this discussion is twofold. First, to identify the variables which yielded significance within each of the four hypotheses; second, to speculate on reasons for these significances.

Hypothesis I predicted a significant difference between young, middle-aged, and elderly interviewees' positive, neutral, and negative word-responses toward the six age-gender cohort labels. Analyses of the data suggested that the young interviewees responded significantly more negatively toward the "elderly male" label than both the middle-aged and elderly interviewees toward the "elderly male" label. Furthermore, the young interviewees responded more negatively toward the "elderly male" label than they did toward any other age-gender cohort label. Greek gender role assignment could provide the reasoning for the significantly negative responses by the young toward the "elderly male" label.

As described in Chapter One, both males and females in Greek society behave according to the gender roles society has prescribed for them. Researchers asserted that there is somewhat of a decay effect between Greek male prestige and age of male. The change in prestige with age may also affect the positive, neutral, or negative responses by others toward the aging male. The Greek male gains power in the family and community as he progresses from young adulthood to middle-age. However, there comes a point in the elderly years when the male, because of age, loses power, dominance, and influence over those with whom he has been most powerful and respected (e.g., his children and spouse). The negative responses toward the elderly Greek male coincide with the research and findings toward the elderly male in the United States of America. According to Birren and Schaie (1977, p. 321),

The decline of patriarchy has usually been linked to the older males' loss of control over urban financial, cognitive and ritual resources. The city is the young man's terrain, and old men presumably lose prestige because they lose access to urban power.

In accordance with this logic, the elderly Greek male's prestige may decline because he is retired and financially contributes less than in previous years. "It is estimated that since 1961, the participation of males over retirement age (65) in the labour force, has fallen from 44% to 25% in 1981" (Greek National Committee for the World Assembly on Aging, 1982, p. 31).

Examining Table 10, it is apparent that the elderly interviewees responded more negatively toward their own cohort than they did toward any other age-gender cohort labels. As suggested above, the young and middle-aged responded negatively toward the "elderly male" label,

further supporting the overall negative position of the elderly male in Greek society. There is the possibility that an elderly male negative self-concept is directly related to increasing age and declining prestige. These findings are nearly comparable to the attitude and aging research conducted in the United States of America. The bulk of the U.S. research has suggested that all age cohorts consider the elderly less favorably than their own, and that the elderly consider their own cohort the least favorably of all (Bennett & Eckman, 1973; Beverly, 1975; Perry & Slomp, 1980; Tuckman & Lorge, 1952).

Though the differences between positive, neutral, and negative responses toward the "elderly male" label and "elderly female" label are not significant, a trend is suggested. Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13 each indicate that word-responses are more frequently negative toward elderly males than toward elderly females. The explanation for this trend may also be related to more of a decrease in prestige as the male ages than as the female ages. Female prestige also decreases with age, but not as drastically as the male. As the female status within the community declines, prestige within the family heightens. Campbell explained this increase in family status.

[The] status of the mother (so long as she is not mentally or physically feeble) increases with age. As a mother of honorably married sons and daughters she has transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her son's cooperation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able to successfully mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers. (1978, pp. 182-183)

Another factor which might aid in explaining the results in regard to Hypothesis I could be the interviewees' relationship with the church.

As described in Chapter One, the church has always played a major role in Greek history. However, this role seems to have disappeared in the Greece of today. Because the church is not needed to act as the binding element among the Greek people, its importance has dissipated. Supporting this theory would be the frequency of church attendance. One question asked of each interviewee in this research was regarding frequency of church attendance. Both Tables 14 and 15 illustrate that the elderly (more so the female elderly) attend church significantly more than the middle-aged or young. Why might this be so? As previously noted, the elderly interviewees responded more negatively toward their own age cohort than they did toward the young and middle-aged, and that this might be because of a negatively perceived self-concept. True, the elderly might attend church more frequently than younger cohorts because they are closer to death, but also the church might serve to enhance their lowered self-concept. Jackson and Wood's 1976 research (as cited in Barrow & Smith, 1983, p. 333) found this theory to be true with the Black elderly in the United States of America. They claimed that elderly urban Blacks attended church more frequently to enhance lowered self-esteem. In other words, the church offers a positive response to those who participate in the religious and social functions. Therefore, the negative responses the elderly may receive outside the church which decrease self-esteem are the reverse in the church and increase self-image. According to Barrow and Smith (1983, p. 333), "The church has provided the elderly black with a place where he or she can feel like somebody and be somebody."

It should be noted that this researcher is not claiming that it is a sudden revelation that the young, middle-aged, and elderly respond



more negatively toward the "elderly" label than toward the "young" and "middle-aged" cohort labels. Rather, it is more reasonable to suppose that the negative responses toward the "elderly" label are merely a continuation of previously held attitudes toward the elderly cohort. However, the negative responses toward the elderly may be more apparent in Athens than in the villages of the past. This has been suggested in the works by Zarras (1980).

Unlike their counterparts in the villages, old men (and old women) in the large cities constantly see their role and their authority dwindling. They do not understand the changing patterns of family and social life in the city. They move unnoticed amid crowds of strangers. They do not, of course, encounter any feelings of hostility or even unkindness, but the marks of respect formerly shown by the young toward the old in public places are gradually disappearing. (p. 167)

Hypothesis II predicted a significant difference between the male and female interviewees' positive, neutral, or negative word-responses toward the six age-gender cohort labels. Analyses of the data yielded three significant differences. First, female interviewees' responses toward the "young female" cohort label were significantly more positive than the male interviewees' responses toward "young female" cohort labels. Second, female interviewees' responses toward the "middle-aged female" cohort label were significantly more positive than the male interviewees' responses toward the "middle-aged female" cohort label. Third, the male interviewees' responses toward the "middle-aged male" cohort label were significantly more positive than the female interviewees' responses toward the "middle-aged male" cohort label (see Table 11).

These results clearly indicate that the young and middle-aged interviewees maintained a positive orientation toward those of a common

gender. The least controversial result is the third, that the male interviewees responded significantly higher than did the female interviewees toward the "middle-aged male" cohort label. This is possibly so because of the economic role that the middle-aged male plays in the family. The middle-aged male is expected to be the financial provider in the family. Due to the financial power the middle-aged male wields within the family, this extends to his maintaining dominance, in general, in the family. This precedes to classical days when males were considered superior to females in nearly every aspect. A translation of Aristotle's Politics supports the deeply imbedded negative attitude by males toward females. "Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle of necessity applies to all mankind" (Lefkowitz & Faut, 1977, p. 44). Thus, dating back to Aristotle, the entire society placed the status of the female below that of the male.

Aristotle's portrait of women is of tremendous importance in Western thought. It became a guide for women in general, and because of its influence in the following millennia, it became entrenched in Western societies. (Bell, 1973, p. 17)

This is comparable to research on aging conducted in the United States of America. The Cameron study (1969) suggested that of all respondents the young and old perceived the middle-aged male as superior in wealth and power.

If this were still true today, then both the male and female interviewees' responses toward the "young male" and "middle-aged male" labels would be significantly more positive than toward the "young female" and "middle-aged female" labels. However, as the results suggested, the

female interviewees responded more positively toward the "young female" and "middle-aged female" labels than did the male interviewees. Could it be that the females in Greece today are disagreeing with the negative gender position they have assumed in the past? Based upon recent political changes in the government and family structure, this question may be answered in the affirmative.

Recent actions initiated by and toward women in Greece may be the basis for females responding so positively toward the young and middle-aged female labels. The three most overt changes for women have occurred in the birth of the womens' liberation movement in Athens, more women entering the work force, and governmental rulings concerning womens' rights.

First, the womens' liberation movement in Greece is an organized group enlisting women to re-educate themselves about their rights for equality in the Greek society. Margaret Papandreou, wife of Andreas Papandreou (the current Prime Minister of Greece), is a leading spokeswoman and member of this movement.

Second, the previously defined role of the wife and mother in the family is less precise now than ever before. More women are joining the work force than ever before, which is providing them with more economic independence, and therefore allotting them more power within the family. Undoubtedly, this is raising the female self-concept, which heretofore, as decreed by Aristotle, had been designated as inferior.

Third, the Greek parliament has instituted changes in the laws which are raising the status of women. Many of these laws will take time to filter throughout all levels of Greek society. However, the

government is becoming more aware of traditions in Greece which are keeping the women suppressed. An example of a significant change is the passing of the law (1979) that dowry in Greece is no longer a mandatory gesture for the bride's family. In other words, the bride is not bought or sold as had been the custom for centuries. Though dowries in some instances still occur, women need not believe that if their families are poor they are destined to either marry poor or not marry at all. Also, the current government is socialist and with the encouragement of Mrs. Papandreou, there are suggestions for more opportunities for women in the work force and a move toward equal pay for equal work.

Analyses of the data addressing Hypothesis II suggested that males and females both responded similarly toward the "elderly male" label and the "elderly female" label (see Table 11). Both genders responded more negatively toward the "elderly male" label and the "elderly female" label than toward any other age and gender. This suggests that neither the male nor female interviewees responded favorably toward the "elderly" (regardless of gender) as an age cohort. In other words, an elderly person regardless of gender may be responded to negatively by both males and females.

Hypothesis III predicted a significant difference between the positive, neutral, and negative responses by interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood, middle socioeconomic neighborhood, and lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the six age-gender cohort labels. Analysis of the data yielded two significant differences. First, the responses by interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood were significantly more positive than were the responses

by interviewees from the lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "middle-aged male" cohort label. Second, the responses by interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood were significantly more negative than the responses from both the middle and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods toward the "elderly female" cohort label (see Table 12).

The reasons suggested in the explanations of Hypothesis I and II for the positive responses toward the "middle-aged male" label may also be applicable to Hypothesis III. It was suggested that because the middle-aged male is expected to provide the financial support in the family, he therefore maintains the most power and is responded to most favorably. This being true, as a result of the amount of money he provides, he determines whether the family is in the upper, middle, or lower income bracket. Furthermore, since degree of masculine prowess and ability to provide adequate financial support are so intertwined, then the greater the financial support the greater the masculine prowess and the higher the income bracket. Thus, it is understandable that because the lower socioeconomic neighborhood male might not provide adequate financial support for the entire family he is responded to significantly less favorably than the middle-aged male from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood who provides more than adequate financial support for the family.

As an aside, it must be mentioned that though the lower socioeconomic neighborhood interviewees responded significantly lower than the upper socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "middle-aged" male label, the middle-aged (both male and female) were responded to most favorably of the three age cohort labels. In other words, the three

socioeconomic neighborhood interviewees responded more favorably toward the "middle-aged" cohort label than toward the "young" or the "elderly" cohort labels.

Analysis of the data also suggested that interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood responded significantly more negatively toward the "elderly female" label than did the interviewees from the middle and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. An explanation for these results is related to the reasoning behind the results in the first two hypotheses. As was previously claimed, the middle-aged male from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood has more power and influence within the family than any other age cohort or gender from the three socioeconomic neighborhoods. Keeping this in mind, it has already been noted that the female has traditionally acquired more power and dominance as she ages. Taking into account that the data from this research yielded less favorable responses toward the "elderly female" label by the middle-aged male in the upper socioeconomic neighborhood, it follows that there is a gender, age, and socioeconomic clash. The "elderly female" in the upper socioeconomic neighborhood was not responded to by others as she had been in the past, or as she would be were she living in the middle or lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. The middle-aged male in the upper socioeconomic neighborhood is financially supporting the family to a greater degree than any other person in Greek society. He, therefore, maintains power and a role which in the past he may have been deferred to the elderly female living in the same neighborhood or even the same house. As a result of this clash, those living in the upper socioeconomic neighborhood, influenced by the

male as the major income provider, defer to the middle-aged males, therefore responding to him much more positively than toward the elderly female.

Hypothesis IV predicted a significant difference between the positive, neutral, and negative responses by all interviewees toward the "young," "middle-aged," and "elderly" age cohort labels. The results of the data suggested that the interviewees' responses were significantly more positive toward the "middle-aged" cohort label than the "elderly" or "young" cohort labels. Furthermore, the interviewees' responses were significantly more positive toward the "young" cohort label than the "elderly" cohort label. In other words, the "middle-aged" were responded to the most positively of all three age cohort labels, then the "young" label, and finally the "elderly" label. In line with the previous three hypotheses, Table 13 illustrates even more dramatically the significant differences between the responses toward the three age cohort labels by all persons interviewed.

In sum, it appears that these significant differences in responses toward the three age cohorts can best be understood by analyzing the Greek Athenian society and its position in an ever changing, more technological world. Greece is most definitely caught between an old society of constant tradition and a world which is straining for marathon advancement. The elderly might represent the traditional Greek element, whereas the young are those who may express rejection of the traditional ways. However, the middle-aged are those who are guiding their lives with the future desires of the young and the traditional desires of the elderly. For this reason, the "middle-aged" cohort, who

have the experience of age and yet the innocence of youth, were responded to the most positively by all interviewees (see Table 13). Then, the "young" cohort, who will determine the future of Greek society, were responded to significantly lower than the "middle-aged" cohort, but nearly at the median (neutral) of the "1"- "2"- "3" (1 being negative response, 2 being neutral response, 3 being positive response) rating scale for interviewees' word-responses. Finally, the "elderly" cohort, because of loss of prestige in family, work force, and society, were responded to the most negatively by all interviewees.

#### Implications for Future Research

Several factors need to be taken into account were this study to be replicated. The socioeconomic neighborhoods canvassed during the Preliminary Phase were suggested by employees in the Greek Ministry of Social Services. A more accurate neighborhood selection was suggested by Dr. Dimitras during the Experimental Phase of the study. Were this study to be replicated, socioeconomic neighborhoods should be suggested by someone the caliber of Dr. Dimitras.

Random door-to-door subject selection was employed in the Preliminary Phase. Rather than a sample of 25 persons randomly interviewed from each socioeconomic neighborhood, the sampling should be representative of the ages and genders of the Greek population. The following age spans and genders (Table 16) were suggested as an appropriate subject sample size for the Preliminary Phase were this study to be replicated (P. Dimitras, personal communication, Summer, 1983).



Table 16

Preliminary Phase: Number of Interviewees by Age and Gender  
for Each Socioeconomic Neighborhood

Age Span in Years	" <u>n</u> " Male	" <u>n</u> " Female
15-24	3	4
24-44	7	8
45-64	6	6
65-99	3	3

Note: "n" for each socioeconomic neighborhood is 45. Total "n" for Preliminary Phase is 135.

Anti-American sentiment may have biased subjects' responses during the Preliminary Phase. The research assistant in the Preliminary Phase was a Greek National accompanied by the American author. Perhaps interviewees' responses were biased due to the presence of the author. Furthermore, the Greek National interviewer, attempting to be as informative as possible, told each interviewee that his project was conducted under the auspices of an American university. To obviate these possible biases, an unaccompanied Greek National female completed all interviews in the Experimental Phase.

The unaccompanied female Greek National interviewer was not informed of her possible age biases. She, possibly, altered her tone of voice, volume, pitch, and resonance according to the age or gender of the interviewee. This possible voice alteration may have, to some degree, influenced the interviewees' responses. The interviewer taped

one interview from each of the age gender cohorts. Should this study be replicated the cassette tapes are available from the author.

The findings of this study lend renewed support to the conclusions of research in aging conducted in the United States of America. First, all age cohorts responded toward the "elderly" cohort less favorably than their own. Further, the elderly cohort responded toward their own cohort less favorably than toward the other cohorts. Furthermore, the findings confirmed that all age cohorts respond most positively toward the "middle-aged male" cohort label.

However, within these findings the data from this research yielded results which may not be comparable to conclusions of research in aging conducted in the United States of America. First, females responded more positively than males toward the "young adult female" label and "middle-aged female" label. Second, interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood responded more favorable than the lower socioeconomic neighborhood toward the "middle-aged male" label. Third, interviewees from the upper socioeconomic neighborhood responded more negatively than the middle and lower socioeconomic neighborhoods toward the "elderly female" label.

This research does not identify the specific words (e.g., pretty, mother, wrinkled) by interviewees which were rated as positive, neutral, or negative responses toward specific age-gender cohort labels. However, future research should attempt to identify the most frequently used positive, neutral, or negative interviewee word-responses (e.g., pretty, mother, wrinkled) toward specific age-gender cohort labels. If the negative word-responses can be eliminated or

substituted with more neutral or positive word-responses, it may well be possible to alter negative thoughts held by individuals toward specific age-gender cohort labels.

This study can serve as a stepping stone for future research in communication and aging in Greece and in the United States of America. As this research yielded theoretical results, it is important to investigate a possible link between the theoretical conclusions and their expected relationships. Are the conclusions drawn about positive, neutral, and negative responses toward age-gender cohort labels indications of specific behaviors by these individuals? Furthermore, can these behaviors be altered if the language used toward age-gender cohorts is changed? These, and other such questions, need to be answered in order to advance the field of communication and aging, as well as initiate more effective communication between persons of differing age groups.

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APPENDIX A  
DR. DIMITRAS' BUSINESS VITA



**ΕΥΡΩΔΗΜ**

Λεωφ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 82, ΑΘΗΝΑ 105, Τηλ. 34.72.226

Πρωτοπορεί από το 1974 στις

ΔΗΜΟΣΚΟΠΗΣΕΙΣ  
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΣΕΙΣ  
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ  
Έλληνικές & Ευρωπαϊκές

Ίδρυτής - Διευθυντής

ΠΑΝ. ΉΛ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΣ  
Ph. D., Harvard Un.

Μέ το «ΕΛΛΗΝΟΒΑΡΟΜΕΤΡΟ», εξαμηνιαία Δημοσκοπήση, που καθιέρωσε από το 1979, η ΕΥΡΩΔΗΜ καταγράφει, αναλύει και προαγγέλλει:

- τις μεταβολές της κοινωνικοπολιτικής όμοσφαιρας
- τις εξελίξεις της θρησκευτικότητας και
- τις διαθέσεις του άναγνωστικού κοινού στην Ελλάδα.

Μέ τις ειδικές έρευνες, μελέτες και δημοσιεύσεις, η ΕΥΡΩΔΗΜ προβληματίζει, συμβουλεύει & προωθεί κυρίως Δημόσιες Υποθέσεις, Έλληνικές και Ευρωπαϊκές.

Κυριότεροι φορείς που έζητηρήσε ως πελάτες ή συνεργάτες:

- Τύπος: ΒΗΜΑ, ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ, ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ, ΝΕΑ, ΕΨΙΛΟΝ, ΕΚΚΛΗΣ, ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑ, GREEK FORUM, ΝΕΑ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ, ΟΙΚΟΝ. ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΣ, ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ, ESPRIT (Γαλλία), SOCIAL SCIENCE (ΗΠΑ)
- Κόμματα: Όλων σχεδόν τών περύγων της Έλληνικής Βουλής.
- Όργανισμοί: Académie Libre des Sc. Politiques (Βρυξέλλες), Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Παρίσι), Conférence Intern. de Sociologie Réligieuse (CISR) B.A.S.S. Πανεπ. LOUVAIN, Ε Ο Κ - Εύρκοινοβούλιο, Γενική Γραμματεία Άθλητισμού - ΣΕΓΑΣ, Υπουργείο Κοινωνικών Υψηρεσιών, Υπουργείο Έθνικής Άμυνας, Άποστολική Διακονία, Ί. Μητροπόλεις, Διεθνής της Άγάπης, κ.ά.
- Επιχειρήσεις: Α. C. S. Prime, Ε. ΑΘΗΝΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, ΜΕΤΡΙΚΑ Ο.Ε, κ.ά.



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Political Parties: Represents all the parties in the Greek Parliament

Organizations: Academy Libre des Sc. Politiques  
Institut Français des Relations Internationales  
Conference Intern. de Sociologie Religieuse  
Louvain  
Common Market  
Athletic General Secretariat  
Ministry of Social Services  
Ministry of National Defense  
Various Major Churches

Companies: A.C.S. Prime, E. Athniotakis, Metrika O.E., etc.

APPENDIX B  
LOWER SOCIOECONOMIC NEIGHBORHOOD

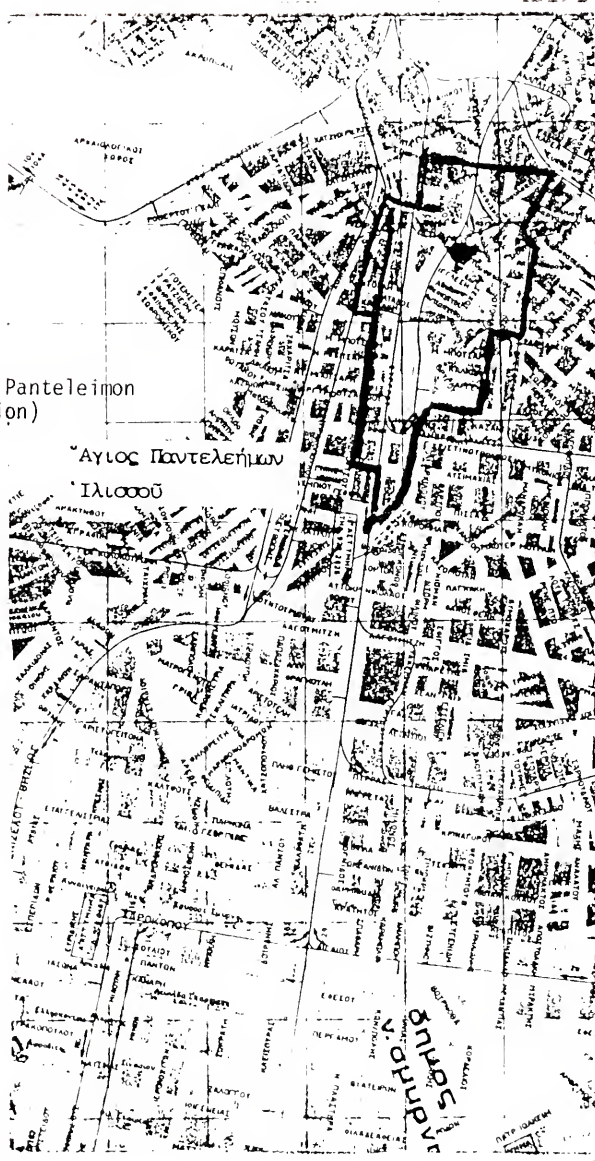


(Peristeriou, Taxiarchon Masha)



APPENDIX C  
MIDDLE SOCIOECONOMIC NEIGHBORHOOD

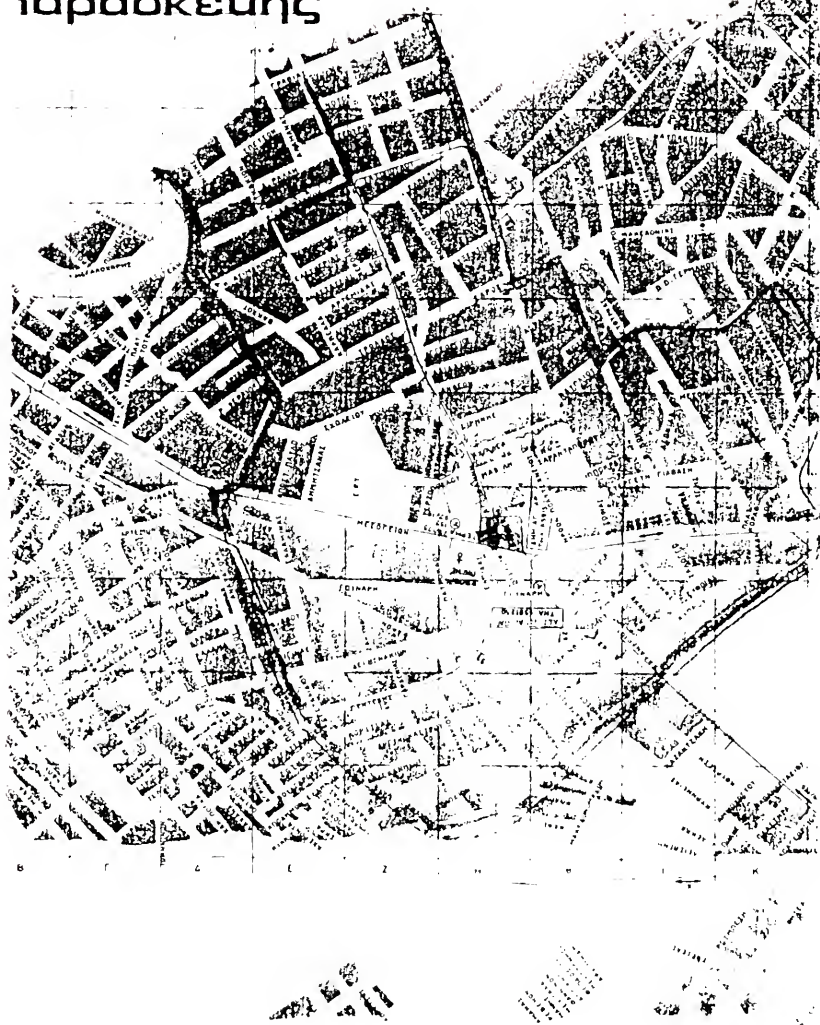
(Aghios Panteleimon  
Illision)



APPENDIX D  
UPPER SOCIOECONOMIC NEIGHBORHOOD

Δ. Ἁγ. Παρασκευῆς (Aghias Parskevis)  
Ἁγ. Παρασκευή

## 105 Παρασκευῆς



APPENDIX E  
ABRIDGED WORD ASSOCIATION TEST BOOKLET

Abridged Word Association Test Booklet

Page 1 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

A man from 18 to 35 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

Page 2 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A woman from 17 to 33 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

Page 3 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A man from 45 to 58 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

Page 4 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A woman from 42 to 55 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

Page 5 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A man over 65 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

Page 6 of the booklet was ten sentence fragments as follows:

A woman over 65 years old is \_\_\_\_\_.

APPENDIX F  
SAMPLE RATING AND WEIGHTING OF INTERVIEWEE WORD RESPONSES

	Coder 3	Weights
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>strong</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>dynamic</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>handsome</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>sexy</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>brusque</u> .	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>impatient</u> .	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>smart</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>ambitious</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>3</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>son</u> .	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
A man from 18 to 35 years old is <u>athletic</u> .	<u>+</u>	<u>1</u>

Sum of weights 25

Overall weight for this interviewee's word-responses toward this age-gender cohort label 2.5

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Devorah Ann Lieberman, born October 9, 1952, grew up in Covina, California. Bent on adding spice to her life, Devorah moved to a kibbutz in Israel in 1971. After one year of working the fields and learning the Hebrew language, she chose to return to California and pursue a college career.

Deciding to work toward a Bachelor of Arts degree in speech communication she enrolled at Humboldt State University in Northern California. Graduating with a B.A. in 1975, she accepted a graduate teaching assistantship in the Speech Department at San Diego State University. During her studies on the master's level at San Diego State University, she became interested in intercultural communication.

Intercultural communication being her primary interest, she set her sights on employment in a culture outside the U.S.A. Upon graduating with a Master of Arts degree in 1977, she accepted a teaching position at Le Chaperon Rouge in Crans, Switzerland. She taught in the English branch and directed the theater program for the 1977-1978 academic year.

In September 1978, Devorah moved from Switzerland to Athens, Greece, where she accepted faculty appointments at two institutions. At Deree College, she taught public speaking, freshman English, and was appointed Director of the English as a Foreign Language Program. Concurrently, she taught communication courses at the University of

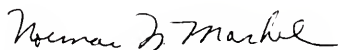


Maryland extension campus in Athens, Greece. She remained at both institutions until 1981, when she decided to return to graduate school to broaden her academic interests and hone her research skills.

While working toward her doctorate in speech at the University of Florida, she became involved in the area of "communication and aging." With her graduate work concentrating on communication and aging, she was invited to present a paper at the International Gerontology Exchange Conference, attended the 1981 United Nations Assembly on Aging in Vienna, Austria, and most recently presented a paper at the North-South Intercultural Communication Conference in December, 1983, in Mexico.

In August 1984, Devorah will be graduating with a Ph.D. in speech and a certificate in gerontology. Still seeking to broaden her interests she has accepted a position as assistant professor at the University of Louisiana to begin Fall, 1984.

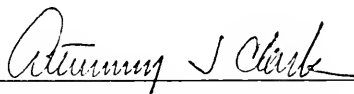
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Norman N. Markel, Chairman  
Professor of Speech

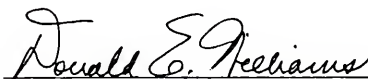
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Anthony J. Clark  
Associate Professor of Speech

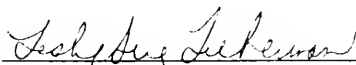
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Donald E. Williams  
Professor of Speech

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Leslie S. Lieberman  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Otto VonMering  
Professor of Anthropology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Speech in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1984

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Dean for Graduate Studies and  
Research

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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